

AKWESASNE NEWS

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DREAMS

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**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PARTISANS DRUM

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**AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication
of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne.**

THE AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE:

Deli, Diane, Martha, Rosannes, Ray, Beverly, "Quill" Kaientares, Uka, Julius, Segwalise, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Peachie, Beni, Luz, Jose, Carol and John. and Ronnie.



HOW IT IS WITH US

As I write this, the Encampment at Raquette Point has been in existence for fifteen months. For fifteen months, some of our chiefs and their supporters have been under severe pressure by New York State authorities and local vigilantes. Every one of our staff has been involved in the support of the encampment.

The most depressing thing that has happened since the last issue is that Chief Thomas Porter's home was burned to the ground. One of the AKWESASNE NOTES editors was staying there at the time, but fortunately he and his family had left for a few days. Arson is very strongly suspected as the cause of the fire. Chief Porter had built a nice home nearly a half mile from the highway. He and his family lived simply — there was neither running water nor electricity in the house, but it was a very comfortable place, near the river, surrounded by woods and gardens and pasture. We were all shocked and saddened by the fire, especially because we had received warnings that something was going to happen around Halloween.

We write about the oppression of peoples, and we experience that oppression. Our chiefs are under indictment, ostensibly for crimes which occurred when they protested the invasion of their lands by New York's colonial police, in this case the Akwesasne Police and the New York State Police. Since this episode began in May, 1979, traditional people at Akwesasne have been harassed, beaten, arrested, persecuted, and attacked in the local newspapers. The home of Dr. Solomon Cook, the man who ran for office in the Elected System on a platform to bring peace to Akwesasne, was bombed, although no one was hurt and only some plants and a window were destroyed. Peoples' lives and property have been threatened, and those threats seem as real and the dangers to people's lives as real as ever.

And yet, although we can rightly say we are under constant attack and threat of attack, things aren't completely dark and gloomy. Thousands of people have written to us, offering their support. The Phone Tree continues to grow. AKWESASNE NOTES people will participate in the Russell Tribunal in late November, and we expect a growth in support for the Native movement.

We are encouraged, too, by the response to our subscription drive. Our announcement that we could no longer send the paper out for free triggered an avalanche of mail offering support. AKWESASNE NOTES is continuing to grow, continuing to reach out to people with what we know to be information which is having an effect, and we are very happy about that. Sometimes, when we are sitting around the office talking about the "old days" of a few years ago, we recall the times when we wondered if a newspaper such as this one had a place in the world. We are stubbornly unique, following our consciences even when we know that what we have to say is truly going against the grain of that which is popular. We continue, we endure, because we believe in what we are doing, but we've never been certain that what we are doing receives acceptance by our readers.

Now we are gaining confidence that our work is growing, both in the sense of its acceptance and in the sense that it is growing from within also. As events in the world unfold, we believe that the kind of information that we publish will become even more important to people and peoples all over the globe. That's why we do this work. That's how it is with us.



THANK YOU FOR SUBSCRIBING!



OUR CALL FOR READERS TO PAY FOR OUR NEWSPAPER IN THE LAST TWO ISSUES IS BEING ANSWERED EVERY DAY. IT IS A SLOW PROCESS, AND ONE WHICH REQUIRES MUCH REORGANIZATION AT OUR END.

AS WE REORGANIZE, AND AS WE READ THE VOLUMINOUS MAIL THAT YOU HAVE SENT IN, WE BECOME INCREASINGLY CONSCIOUS OF THE OVERWHELMING NEED FOR DEEP AND TIMELY INFORMATION ON THE SITUATIONS OF TRADITIONAL NATIVE PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

AN ADEQUATE AND STEADY FINANCIAL BASE — AND THE NETWORKING WHICH BECOMES POSSIBLE WHEN OUR READERS SERIOUSLY CORRESPOND WITH US WILL SET THE STAGE FOR A MORE EFFICIENT PRODUCTION AND DISSEMINATION OF MATERIALS ON THESE STRUGGLES.

TRADITIONAL NATIVE PEOPLES ARE BY DEFINITION PEOPLES WHOSE WORLD-VIEWS (RELIGIONS) ARE ROOTED IN A CONSCIOUSNESS OF MANKIND'S RELATIONSHIP WITH AND DEPENDENCE ON THE NATURAL WORLD. THEY ARE PEOPLES WHO CONSTITUTE NATURAL NATIONS — WITH THEIR OWN LANGUAGES, HISTORIES, TERRITORIES, RELIGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS — VERY OFTEN SURROUNDED BY MODERN NATION-STATES WHO DON'T SHARE A SIMILAR NATURAL WORLD WORLD-VIEW.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIVE, NATURAL PEOPLES (IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE — "INDIANS") AND THE WESTERNIZED, MATERIALISTIC MINDSET OF THE PEOPLES WHO OFTEN SURROUND THEM IS A PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF COVERAGE FOR AKWESASNE NOTES. THE MYRIAD SITUATIONS REFLECTING THIS CONFLICT FORM THE BASIS FOR THE ARTICLES THAT MAKE UP THE NEWSPAPER. IT IS, TO OUR WAY OF THINKING, THE FUNDAMENTAL STORY OF THE 1980s — FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF NATIVE PEOPLE'S CONSCIOUSNESS AND THEIR ATTEMPTS TO IMPART THAT CONSCIOUSNESS ARE INTRICATELY RELATED TO THE SURVIVAL OF ALL MANKIND.

IT IS OUR HOPE AND OUR GOAL THAT IN THIS DECADE, THIS STORY WILL BECOME A PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF COVERAGE FOR ALL INFORMED AND SURVIVAL-CONSCIOUS COMMUNICATIONS PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

BY SUBSCRIBING, BY JOINING OUR NETWORK AND DISSEMINATING OUR MATERIALS, BY CORRESPONDING WITH US YOU ARE HELPING US ADVANCE THAT GOAL. FOR THAT, AGAIN, WE THANK YOU.

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Mohawk Nation
Roosevelt, New York 13683

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Mohawk Nation--Late Fall--Early Winter

Akwesasne is a Mohawk Community located along the St. Lawrence River. It is listed on most maps which list American Indian communities as the St. Regis Indian Reservation, it lies where the St. Regis, Raquette and St. Lawrence Rivers converge. Akwesasne consists of about 22,000 acres of low, flat land which includes several islands, some marshland, and some arable land. More than 7,000 Mohawk people live here.

The Mohawk community of Akwesasne would have probably remained more or less anonymous had there not been political forces at work which resulted in conflicts which brought the situation of the Mohawk people to the attention of North America and, eventually, the world. The Akwesasne story rose to national and international prominence for a number of reasons. It provides an extraordinary illumination of the process by which Native peoples are dispossessed of their rights to land and self-determination by the governments of the U.S. and its subdivisions, in this case, N.Y.S.. The process by which Native people are dispossessed of their rights continues to remain the policy of those governments, and the implementation of that policy continues to exhibit a willingness to use deceit, coercion, bribery and force to gain their political, social and economic objectives at the expense of Native peoples.

The first European explorer to reach the country of the Mohawk people was Jacques Cartier who sailed under the flag of France. He reached the region in 1537 looking for a passage west and for lands and riches in the name of the King of France. In 1609, Samuel de Champlain arrived. He was told by the Indians whom he had initially contacted that they were at war with a people whose territory lie to the south. De Champlain was further told that these people were part of a confederacy of five nations which were banded together under a single government and that when a war party entered Lake Champlain (as it is called today) that party would be met by warriors of the Mohawks. Champlain joined the Hurons as an ally in an assault against the Mohawks which took place in the area of present-day Lake Champlain. A battle ensued during which several Mohawks were killed by French Guns. There was no question at that time that the region described by Champlain's allies was the territory of the Ganienkehaka or Mohawk Nation, one of the five confederated Native nations. Indeed, the Mohawks held and defended their territory against invasion throughout the early colonial period, much of which was punctuated by warfare.

Soon after the first contact, the Dutch began to colonize the upper Hudson River Area, establishing a trading post at Fort Orange, later to become Albany, New York. The Dutch shortly entered into a treaty with the people of the Five Nations, a treaty which has come to be called the "Two Row Wampum" Treaty. It was a peace and friendship treaty under which the Dutch people agreed to recognize that the people of the Five Nations have their territory and their laws and customs and that peace and friendship would ensue because each party promised not to meddle into the internal affairs of the other.

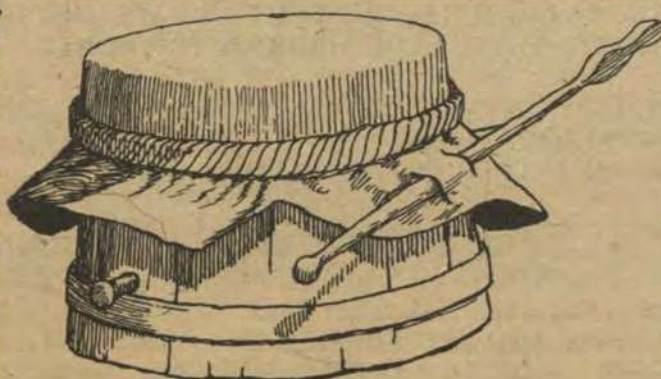
The Treaty with Holland was the first of many treaties between European nations and the Iroquois Confederacy. By the end of the 17th Century, the Iroquois Confederacy had treaties with England and France also, treaties which expressed the principles stated in the Two Row Wampum Treaty.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, France and England engaged in a series of wars in a struggle over domination of both territories and trade privileges. Those wars extended to their colonies in North America, and the nature of the wars changed with military fortunes and objectives of those countries in Europe, North America and other parts of the world. During the period of the wars, both England and France made treaties with the Native nations of North America. Both nations made many treaties with the Iroquois Confederacy. Indeed, the Five Nations are commonly believed to have influenced and sometimes controlled the balance of power between the two countries in the

areas now known as Quebec, Ontario and New York State.

By 1763, the French had lost the struggle for North America. England continued to recognize that the country which was in the possession of the Iroquois Confederacy continued to be separate and distinct countries and laid no claim to ownership of the territory of the Confederacy.

Following the American Revolution, the fledgling United States was faced with military realities on its borders and political realities within its constituent states. On the western border in the area today called Central and Western New York, the Iroquois Confederacy continued to be a formidable military adversary, even following the genocidal expeditions of Generals Sullivan and Clinton in 1779 into the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca country. The United



"THE ACTIONS OF NEW YORK STATE IN APPOINTING TRUSTEES FOR THE MOHAWKS FOR THE EXPRESSED PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATING FURTHER LAND DEALS IS A FURTHER EXAMPLE OF THE POLICY OF DISPOSSESSION. THE POLICY OF NEW YORK STATE WHICH IGNORED A 1790 FEDERAL STATUTE WHICH WAS INTENDED TO GUARANTEE THE INDIAN PEOPLES AGAINST FRAUD AND MISDEALINGS BY THE STATE IS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT NEW YORK STATE'S OBJECTIVE WAS THE ACQUISITION OF MOHAWK LANDS BY FAIR MEANS OR FOUL."

States, under George Washington, negotiated a number of treaties with the Iroquois Confederacy, including treaties of peace, and treaties recognizing areas of sovereignty and territorial boundaries.

During this same period, New York State embarked on a policy intended to dispossess and remove all of the Native people, especially the Iroquois, from those lands which New York had designated as its own. New York, in the process, dubbed itself "The Empire State," and designed a strategy for the dispossession and removal of the people of the Confederacy which was based on the policy of simply denying that the Confederacy had any validity as a nation.

In pursuit of that plan, New York's agents entered the territories of the Iroquois and proceeded to negotiate land acquisition documents which would have resulted in the transfer of large areas of land from the possession of the Iroquois people into the hands of private speculators who had considerable influence in the government of New York State.

New York's arrogance in its dealings with Indian peoples was so complete that the state sometimes acted in willful defiance of even the somewhat weakened laws of the U.S. government. In fact, several land transfers from Native peoples to New York were undertaken as a policy in defiance of a 1790 Federal Non-Intercourse Act which was intended to insure fair dealings between Indian peoples and the several states. One of those land deals, under which New York purported to acquire lands involved lands in St. Lawrence County, some of which

were to become parts of the City of Massena, New York.

The state's strategy was simple enough. The State Legislature sought to separate the Mohawk people at Akwesasne from the Confederacy by legislative fiat. In other words, the State simply declared through its laws that the people of Akwesasne were no longer part of the Confederacy. The State then moved to consolidate this move in 1893 by passing legislation which created an elective system under State law. The elective system was modeled after the somewhat arbitrary system of trustees established by the State nearly a century earlier.

The Mohawk people opposed these maneuvers from the beginning. Throughout the period of the "Elected system" there were periodic efforts to resist and dislodge what many Mohawks perceived to be an alien government. In 1948, three men ran on a platform to abolish the Elective system. They won and they sent New York State a message advising that the Elected System had been abolished and that the government of the Akwesasne Mohawks had officially returned to the Confederacy. New York State responded by sending State Police to hold an off reservation election to reimpose the neo-colonial government created by State law in 1893.

In 1971, it began to become clear that New York had erred in making land acquisitions in defiance of a federal statute. Federal courts began to assert that treaties between states which were in violation of the 1790 statute were null and void, and that the Indians affected could enter claims in the courts which might result in the return of these illegally-taken lands.

At about the same time that possible land claims by Mohawk people became an issue among New York's politicians, a curious thing happened. The federal government, which had previously considered the "St. Regis Indian Reservation", to be a State reservation and therefore ineligible for federal funding, began changing its mind. In 1972, then Commissioner for Indian Affairs Louis Bruce, recognized St. Regis as eligible to receive certain federal funds. Bruce was part Mohawk and had relatives who were Trustees under the State-created and recognized Elected System.

The political history of the Akwesasne community to 1975 provides a clear and incontrovertible example of the policy of New York State to dispossess these Mohawk people of their right to land and to self-determination. The treaties of 1796 and 1797 which purport to purchase large areas of Mohawk lands from persons or parties not authorized by the Iroquois people to negotiate those lands are clear examples of the process by which people are dispossessed of territory under a policy of a government of a state. The actions of New York State in appointing Trustees for the Mohawks for the expressed purpose of negotiating further land deals is a further example of the process of dispossession. The policy of New York State in ignoring a 1790 federal statute which was intended to guarantee the Indian peoples against fraud and misdealings by the States is further evidence that New York State's objective was the acquisition of Mohawk lands by fair means or foul.

In modern times, New York State will raise the argument that the dispossession of the Mohawk lands and the denial of the right of self-determination was legal because the Mohawks at Akwesasne ceased to be parties to the Confederacy when they converted to Catholicism. Religious Conversions were not recognized at the time as altering nationality, and such conversions are not recognized in international law or United States law as having any effect on nationality. New York goes on to argue that all that has happened in the area of law which affects the Mohawk people's right to self-determination finds its origins in the act of religious conversion which New York (not the Iroquois nor the Mohawk Nation) has asserted resulted in a change of nationality.

There is little question that the U.S. and New York State, unlawfully dispossessed the Iroquois people of their lands. The Mohawk people at Akwesasne are left with only 22,000 acres out of their original homeland of



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THE EXISTENCE OF A DOCTRINE OF LAW WHICH LEGITIMIZES FRAUDULENT TREATIES WHICH DISPOSSES A PEOPLE OF THEIR LANDS AND RIGHTS IS A CLEAR POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO DENY A PEOPLE THEIR RIGHTS... IT IS A POLICY WHICH IS CLEARLY IN VIOLATION OF ALL TENETS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND HUMAN MORALITY.

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18 million acres. The treaties which extinguish the title of the Confederacy to millions of acres of this land were negotiated with parties other than the Confederacy under conditions of coercion and fraud. The treaty signed by Joseph Brant, is one such treaty. The Confederacy is barred from challenging that treaty in U.S. courts, however, by a doctrine of U.S. law called the political question doctrine. Under that doctrine, the U.S. courts will not look into the legality of a treaty which has been approved by Congress, holding that the legality of such treaties is a political question and not a question of law.

The existence of a doctrine of law which legitimizes fraudulent treaties which dispossess a people of their lands and rights is a clear policy of the United States government to deny a people their rights. It is a policy which applies to not only the Mohawk and other Iroquois people, but to all Native Nations within the territory controlled by the United States. It is a policy which is clearly in violation of all tenets of international law and human morality.

New York's position is that New York State has acquired powers to determine the internal affairs of the Mohawk people at Akwesasne from the laws of the U.S. There can be no doubt that New York and the U.S. have in fact denied the Mohawk people the right to self-determination. The laws passed in the New York legislature in 1802 and 1893 provide exacting documentation that New York State has denied the Mohawk people any right to determine their own affairs and the events of 1948-1950 provide evidence that New York has been willing to use military force to deny the Mohawk people any right to self-determination.

THE RACQUETTE POINT ENCAMPMENT — a continuation of history

Federal funding of the elected Government at St. Regis increased steadily following the information in 1972 that the courts would recognize a Mohawk claim to lands brought under the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act. During that same year, the BIA approved a contract between the elected trustees and Washington-based attorney Arthur J. Gajarsa. The terms of that contract were to change in minor ways over the years, and were kept entirely secret from the Mohawk people. Of special interest is the matter of fees for services. By 1979, Mr. Gajarsa's contract stipulated that he and his firm were the legal representatives of the Mohawk people in the land claim settlement proceedings and that his fees in the event of a settlement involving land under which the Mohawks would receive land, would be 25% of the value of the land up to \$750,000 and 10% of the value of the land in excess of \$750,000.

By 1978, the federal policy regarding land claims under the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act was to seek the negotiation of those claims as an alternative to court action. The fact that the claim existed underscored N.Y.S. need to establish that the elected system government was indeed the legitimate government of the Mohawk people at Akwesasne. Millions of dollars in federal funding helped. With more people on the payroll, the elective government influence increased.

During that year, in a move kept secret from the Mohawk people, the BIA approved a grant which provided payments to the three trustees for "expenses" for their participation in land claims negotiations sessions. The grant in 1978 was for \$14,000 for this purpose, and in 1979 it amounted to \$28,000.

About one-half of that money came to rest in the hands of the individual trustees who were negotiating the claim on behalf of the Mohawk people.

Also beginning in 1972, the federal government's Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA) provided monies to the elected system for the creation of a police force. By 1979, there were two deputized members of this police force, and some controversy over its organization. The Akwesasne Police, as they were called, were deputized by Franklin County and derived their police powers under the Franklin County Sheriff's Office. But they were not supervised by the sheriff; they were supervised by the Head Trustees of the Elected System. Thus, they were a unique police force, one not under a police agency but rather answerable to a political entity.

The political organization which stood in opposition to the process of dispossession and the denial of rights of self-determination at Akwesasne has been the traditional Council of Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, known also as the Longhouse People. The traditional chiefs have provided an organized voice of protest for generations. For practically every action of New York State or the United States government intended to dispossess or attack the rights of the people of the Iroquois Confederacy, the traditional Chiefs have responded with a protest. By 1979, the stage was set for a serious and significant conflict between the traditional people who represent the rights of the Mohawk people to self-determination and those who represent the ambitions of New York State.

The spark which brought this conflict nearly to a conflagration and which brought Akwesasne to the attention of the world community occurred on May 22, 1979. Traditional Chief Loran Thompson and Joseph Swamp discovered a federally-funded program under the direction of the Elected Trustees which was cutting trees on his property. He and a friend allegedly confiscated their tools. Later that day, Akwesasne Police and N.Y. State police beat and arrested Chief Thompson on a charge of grand larceny. The next week, several hundred traditional people marched to the headquarters of the Akwesasne police and demanded their resignation. They refused. A struggle ensued and the police were disarmed and removed from the building.

Franklin County District Attorney Joe Ryan convened grand juries, seeking and obtaining indictments against Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp, and twenty-one other traditional people and their supporters arising from the incident at the Elected system headquarters on May 29th. The traditional people formed an encampment at Raquette Point to resist the service of warrants against their chiefs and leaders. Throughout the summer, the situation was tense. Then, on August 28, Raymond Harding, an assistant to Governor Carey, announced that the State Police were going to serve the warrants. Early the next morning, State police entered people's homes and arrested several people and then proceeded to surround the encampment, and for several tense hours it appeared that they were preparing for an assault. News Media began to arrive, and the police withdrew from the perimeter but stepped up patrols on Akwesasne.

During this period of time, negotiations between the State and the traditional people broke down. At the same time, New York's representatives told the press that their reason for being at Akwesasne was to serve warrants arising out of the grand jury proceedings of Franklin County. What they didn't tell the press was that the elective Tribal Council had submitted a grant proposal to the State of New York's Division of Criminal Justice Services in an attempt to fund an expanded police force in late 1979. Their proposal contained these words:

"... the existing Tribal Police Force has been burdened with maintaining order during a period of conflict between the tribal elective government and

neo-traditionalists".

The proposal was for monies to enable the elective Tribal council to take police action against its Mohawk opposition. New York State responded in Jan. 1980 with a grant of \$204,987 from the N.Y. Governor's Discretionary CETA Grant fund. That grant opened 14 new CETA slots for the Akwesasne police, creating a twenty member police force which was to be used by the Trustees against the traditional Mohawk people.

From August, 1979 through the Spring of 1980, the state continued to meet with the elected trustees in land claims discussions. The two major stories which appear in the Northern New York press during this period alternate between progress of the court prosecutions against traditional people who were arrested on warrants stemming from the May 29th incident and news about the progress toward settlement of the Mohawk land claims. Although these two items often appear in the same paper, the two are carefully separated — land claims are rarely mentioned in the same article as the court proceedings or the Raquette Point Encampment.

In April, Judge Plumadore of the Franklin County Court handed down a decision on motions to dismiss because New York State lacks jurisdiction. In a court decision which was more creative of history than of law he repeated the line that New York had taken for some two centuries — that the Mohawks aren't really Mohawks, that they are "St. Regis Indians" and are only ethnically Mohawks. Therefore, they have no rights to sovereignty or to challenge NY Law. He also ruled that the county court did have jurisdiction in the case, despite the obviously political nature of the case. He reserved judgment on a motion by attorney WM. Kunsler who argued that the case should be dismissed in the interests of justice. The Haudenosaunee (Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) filed a 1503 complaint with the United Nations, charging that the United States and New York State have violated the rights of the Mohawk Nation to self-determination in violation of international law. It was among the first complaints by native people ever to be taken to the United Nations.

In June, the situation at Akwesasne grew steadily more tense. State police officials began attending meetings between members of the Akwesasne Police and several vigilante supporters, most notable Peter Burns, Vaughn Aldrich and Bill Sears. Then on the morning of June 13, a contingent of off-duty (they called in "sick") Akwesasne police and vigilantes were joined by state police who cut off telephone communications to Raquette Point and poised for a military assault on the traditional people.

As the hours wore on, reports from the state police stated that armed vigilantes threatened to mount an attack if the state police would not. By mid-afternoon, the governor's office announced that the state police had joined forces with the "elected" and would execute an attack at 3:00 p.m. To the press, state officials made statements to the effect that New York State was simply playing a peace keeping role between two factions of warring Indians.

The State Police and the vigilantes made several gestures toward the camp, but no physical attack ensued. Snipers appeared on the roof of the nearby plant, and the highway was lined with dozens of ambulances and emergency vehicles throughout June 13 and 14. The State Police then set up blockades on the roads and continued to surround the encampment. Things were very tense.

In early July, while the State Police continued to encircle the encampment, State Police Investigator "Chick" Fountain called for a meeting with the traditional chiefs. At that meeting, Fountain presented a nine point proposal which he said had originated from conversations with Bill Sears and Vaughn Aldrich, two

NEW YORK STATE, MEANWHILE HAS SOME QUESTIONS TO ANSWER ABOUT ITS BEHAVIOR. THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE HAS FUNDED AN ILLEGAL POLICE FORCE... EVERY EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT OF A MOHAWK LAND CLAIM IN THE FACE OF SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM TRUSTEES...



of the spokesmen for the vigilantes. The proposal contained provisions which were designed to bring an end to the conflict and hopefully, Mr. Fountain explained, peace to Akwesasne. The chiefs delivered the proposal to the encampment where it was discussed at length.

The proposal was under discussion on July 15 when the chiefs were asked to meet with the elected Trustees to discuss the possibilities for peace. The chiefs and the Trustees met twice, once on July 15, and again on July 27. In the course of those meetings, the Trustees agreed to try to end the confrontation. They would approach district attorney Ryan and ask that the charges be dropped. Shortly after the second meeting, however, armed vigilantes set up an encampment on Raquette Point and threatened violence unless some agreement was reached immediately. The leader of that vigilante effort was Bill Sears.

In mid-August, a truce was called and the State Police lowered the barricades. A Clayton Hearing was held in the Franklin County Court, ostensibly to determine whether the charges against traditional Mohawks should be dropped in the interest of justice. Judge Jam Plumadore presided. At that hearing, State Police officer Leigh Hunt testified that in his opinion, peace would not come to Akwesasne until the traditional and elected parties reached some kind of agreement toward resolving the issues which had created the conflict. Judge Plumadore reserved judgment while hinting that he would not vacate the warrants unless some kind of agreement were reached, a position which basically offered that the "interests of justice" required that the political ends of the elected Trustees be satisfied. At that point, the Trustees renounced previous efforts to resolve the court issues and even denied that they had ever meant to move that the charges be dropped.

On September 2, Art Montour (Kakwirakeron), spokesman for the Ganiienkeh Project, voluntarily surrendered to Franklin County authorities. A local newspaper carried the story that he had departed to take a job as an iron worker in California. Shortly after that, Judge Plumadore handed down a decision denying a motion by Mohawk Nation attorneys to hold a hearing to argue the historical facts of the earlier decision in which Plumadore had found that the Mohawk Nation had been "Succeeded" by the "St. Regis Indians."

At about this time, the U.S. State Department announced that the U.S. would not answer charges brought by the Haudenosaunee in a complaint filed with the United Nations in April.

There was a kind of pause in the action while people awaited Judge Plumadore's ruling in the interest of justice motion. Rumors circulated at Akwesasne that huge amounts of heating fuel, diesel fuel, and gasoline were being shipped across the Canadian border to U.S. retail outlets. One oil shipper, a supporter of the Trustees and the vigilante faction, was reportedly shipping up to 56,000 gallons of fuel per day. Fuel in Canada is subsidized by the federal government at about 55 cents per gallon, and the price in Canada is about that much under the price in the U.S.. It is illegal under Canadian law to ship fuel from Canada to the U.S. without paying the 55 cents per gallon export duty. Two large fuel depots were built to hold tens of thousands of gallons of fuel on Route 37 a few miles from the Cornwall Island Bridge.

Judge Plumadore finally handed down his decision in late October. The charges (and the warrants) will not be dismissed until some kind of agreement is reached between the traditional people and the Trustees.

Shortly after that decision, on October 30, 1980, the home of Mohawk Chief Thomas Porter was burned to the ground. Chief Porter's home was located off Route 37 a half mile from the twin bridges which cross the Raquette River at Akwesasne. The fire followed several

weeks of rumors that supporters of the New York State Police and the Akwesasne Police were planning some kind of action against the traditional Mohawk people. Arson is suspected as the cause of the blaze.

The following day, the Mohawk Nation rejected offers by Akwesasne Police officer Warren Connors and St. Regis Fire Chief Donald Cummins to investigate the fire. A Mohawk Nation press release that day stated:

"... Connors is a member of the same police force which allegedly called in 'sick' on June 13 so that they could participate in the blockade as vigilantes.

"New York officials have consistently maintained that they are neutral parties caught between two warring parties of Mohawks at Akwesasne. The Mohawk Nation has repeatedly charged that New York is anything but a neutral party because the State Police and the courts close their eyes to acts of violence and property damage committed by vigilantes and their supporters while magnifying charges brought by vigilantes against suspected traditional people and supporters. In each and every case in which vigilantes and their supporters have made complaints to Peace Justices Brockway and Bero, warrants have been issued against traditional people or their supporters. In every case involving complaints against supporters of the vigilantes, no warrants were issued.

"The Mohawk Nation has refused the offer by the State Police to investigate the fire and has contacted a private investigator. It should be clear that this refusal is based on the fact that the Mohawk Nation has no confidence that the State Police are capable of conducting a serious investigation in which the prime suspects must be that group of people to whom they look for political support at Akwesasne."

A few days later, a local television station announced the rumored sinking in the St. Lawrence River of a barge which may have been carrying fuel from Cornwall Island (on the "Canadian side" to Snye, both communities within the Akwesasne Territory. The rumor of barges carrying oil across the St. Lawrence suggested oil smuggling. Shortly after that, investigators found that vigilante spokesman Bill Sears had purchased a gas station in Malone, New York. Sears is the commandant of the American Legion Post at Hogsburg, a post for which he is not compensated. His wife sells Avon and Sarah Coventry products on a part-time basis. He is believed to have no other visible source of income. Incorporation papers filed with the Franklin County Clerk's office show that his partner in the gas station business is Mrs. Joann Fountain, wife of BCI Investigator "Chick" Fountain.

Peter Burns, who has supported the State Police against the traditional people, has been under investigation by Canada's Energy Board and the RCMP for his part in shipping oil across the border. In late October, the *Watertown Daily Times* carried pictures of Trustee-controlled Young Adult Conservation Corps employees who were engaged in repairing the roof of a gas station reportedly owned or partly owned by Burns. The newspaper thought it was news because the gas station is located on Cornwall Island (which is claimed by Canada) and the YACC program is funded by the United States government.

Tremendous profits could be made by selling Canada-subsidized oil products to U.S. outlets if one can but get those products across the border without attracting the attention of hostile authorities. There would be much less attention focused on Akwesasne if the traditional people were silenced and subdued.

Bureau of Criminal Investigation officer "Chick" Fountain is the State Police liaison to the vigilante group. It does not seem likely that it is mere coincidence that his wife has decided to go into the gasoline retailing business with a leader of the vigilante group at the very moment that gasoline is rumored to be crossing the St. Lawrence in barges.

New York State, meanwhile, has some questions to answer about its behavior. The governor's office has funded an illegal police force. Every effort has been made to negotiate a settlement of a Mohawk land claim in the face of serious questions about the legitimacy of the Trustees. Those questions are complicated by federal Bureau of Indian Affairs payments of "expense" moneys to individual Trustees for their participation in the land claims negotiations process.

The Haudenosaunee and the Mohawk Nation have accused New York State and the United States of gross violations of the right to self-determination and the right to the lawful possession of lands before a Russell Tribunal which will be held in Holland in November. Meanwhile, warrants continue to be in effect for the arrest of the Mohawk chiefs and their supporters at Raquette Point, and as we go to press there are increasingly ominous rumors that the vigilantes have received a shipment of assault rifles and that there will be renewed efforts by that group to initiate violence. The Mohawk People at Akwesasne continue to need support in the form of money, winter clothing, food and blankets. Donations are also being accepted for a fund to rebuild Chief Porter's home. Donations and letters of support can be sent to:

Mohawk Sovereignty Committee
P.O. Box 288
Roosevelt, New York 13683



DONATIONS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO:

MOHAWK SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 288
ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683
(518) 358-9531

Gov. Hugh L. Carey
Attn. Ray Harding
Governor's Office
State Capitol Bldg.
Albany, New York
(518) 474-8390

Mr. Leo Krulitz
Office of the Solicitor
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C.
(202) 343-1100

President James Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C.
(202) 456-1414

Mr. Theo Van Boven
Dir. U.N. Human Rights
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Akwesasne Freedom School

SOVEREIGNTY – SELF-SUFFICIENCY – SURVIVAL

Of the five processes that a People must control in order to call themselves sovereign, none is more vital and important than the education and socialization of one's own children.

Children are a nation's most precious resource. The values, the skills, the very Way of Life we provide in their formative years determine the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Nation through the lifespan of each successive generation.

Conscious of this fundamental principle of nationhood, the Mohawk People this Fall established the Akwesasne Freedom School.

On September 8, 1980, the Akwesasne Freedom School opened with an enrollment of 63 students and an increasing waiting list of future students. Classes are held in the equivalent of pre-kindergarten to grade 12. At present they are held in two private homes plus the downstairs of a building which was constructed to house people in the Raquette Point Encampment. Construction is also presently under way on Mohaw Nation lands which will provide more usable space in the near future.

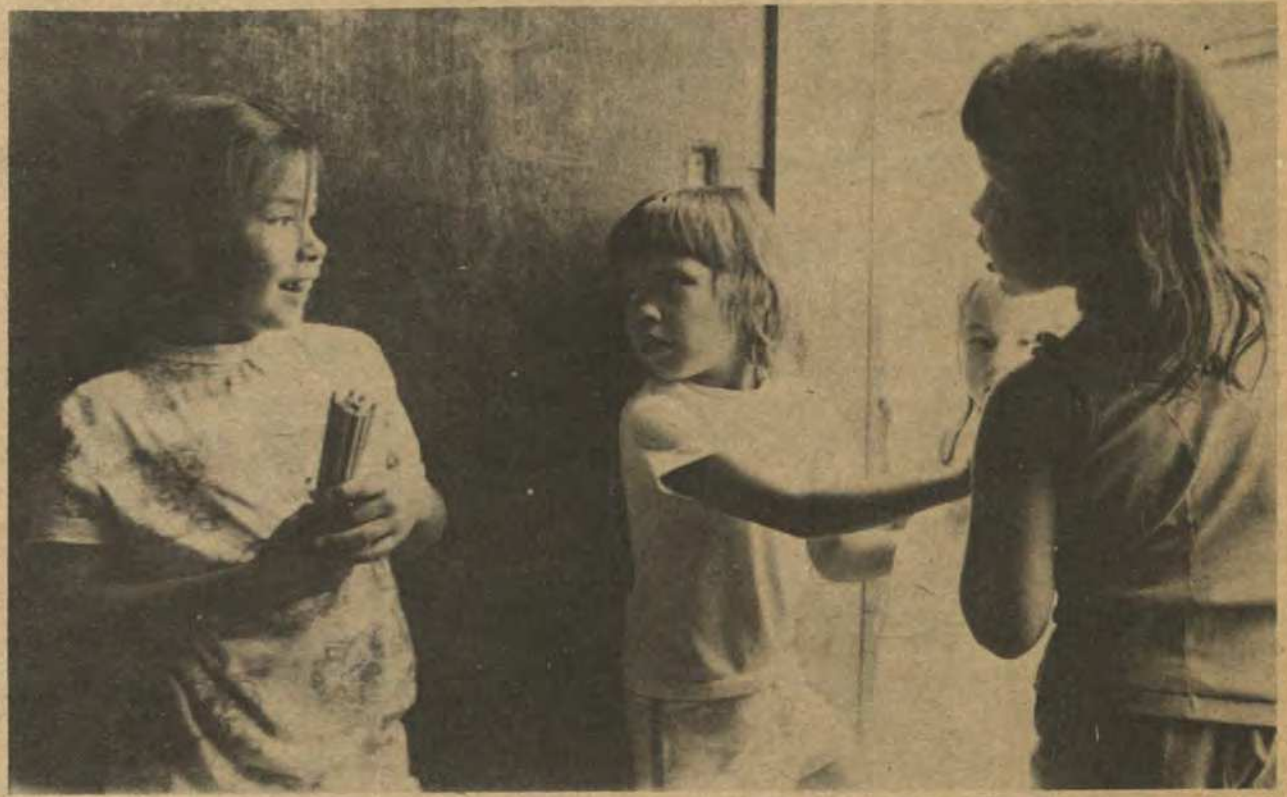
What happens within a community to compell it to move to regain control over the education of their young people? What are the deciding factors which bring people out of the talking phase into the action phase? Many, many Native communities talk about educating their own children, but few communities are able to shake the feeling of helplessness with which the public schools control them and their children. The question that looms the heaviest is how does a Nation of Native people who have been able to successfully withstand attacks from the New York State Police, the New York courts, and vigilantes again and again for fifteen months, how does that community have the energy and motivation to tackle head-on the regaining of sovereignty in education?

The answers to these questions lie deep in the hearts of the People of the Mohawk Nation. Over the past year, they have seen some of their own people so sold out to the oppressor that they could take up arms to kill their own people. It was at this precarious point in history, June 13th, 1980, and the months of July and August that the people realized that these so-called vigilantes were totally uneducated about their own people's ways. Parents and Mohawk people with teacher certification began discussions. They realized that the public schools are syphoning off their young people to fit into the U.S. System to the detriment of the Mohawk Nation.

There seemed only one solution – we must educate our own children. We must stop the loss of children's minds to a foreign government which destroys their sense of being Mohawk. Ron LaFrance, coordinator for the school, says, "Their form of education (public schools) was not benefitting our community because we lost our young people. We are preparing our students to be good citizens of the Mohawk Nation just as the public school prepares their children to be good U.S. citizens. We have the right to do that. We have the right to prepare our students to be good citizens and community members of the Mohawk Nation. The whole concept of Nationhood is strong in the school. If we're going to be a strong Nation we have to keep our young people and build educational, political and economic sovereignty. That's our goal."

"We must all consciously challenge every model, every program, and every process that the West tries to force upon us. Paulo Friere wrote, in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that it is the nature of the oppressed to imitate the oppressor, and by such actions try to gain relief from the oppressive condition. We must learn to resist that response to oppression." (From: BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS).

One of the most effective ways to pave a new path is to negate the system of hierarchy to which everyone is accustomed. In the Mohawk Nation's philosophy, everyone is equal. In the Freedom School everyone is equal and has a voice in developing the principles, the guidelines, the rules by which the school will function. The most effective way to make real changes in the



educational process is to directly involve, to require, parental involvement in all phases of the schooling process.

If you were to walk into the Akwesasne Freedom School any morning, you would find parents participating in the academics by conducting classes, tutoring, typing worksheets, cleaning up and assisting the teachers with every aspect of the school day. Every Monday evening the parents have an open meeting where all problems, both short term and long term, are discussed. Long range planning for the acquisition of land and the development of self-sufficiency are discussed and decisions made. High school students have at least two representatives at these meetings.

Parental involvement in the school is not superficial, it is deliberately an in-depth process of total commitment of the parents to the students and for the community. The right to determine educational policy and to actively participate in the teaching of classes is essential if a Nation of Native peoples is to produce their own "citizens" who benefit themselves and the community.

Some parents have been timid about entering this process and it is easy to understand that after several hundred years of being kept out of their children's education, it is an entirely new idea to be welcomed into the education of their children. It's slow, at times, and painful, but it is worthwhile. The parents have organized and implemented the transportation system for the students. Money for gas comes out of their own pockets. In addition, each family is asked to donate \$2 per week to the school to help with supplies.

One of the most important aspects of the school is the parents as resource persons. When asked what the Akwesasne Freedom School can offer students that they can't get in the public schools, the high school coordinator responded, "I think what we have here is, an abundance of resource people that are invaluable to us. This week a lot of those resource people came into our classes – traditional people who have experience in a lot of different fields are coming in to teach our students. In the regular high school, you wouldn't get that, you'd get your regular subjects along the curriculum lines of New York State. We're developing our own curriculum line – something that pertains to our life and which balances things out more from our point of view. We're trying to get across the basic skills of reading, writing, math and science, but we're doing that [from an angle] of Native People. The books we're using are all oriented toward Native viewpoints. We have the resource people coming in who can augment those books. I think that's valuable to the students. Mostly, we're trying to get them to get the idea to be responsible for education as much as possible."

When asked to define some of the valued, she responded, "The two major items which I keep bringing up in class are respect and responsibility. These two concepts are the basis, I think, of how we should conduct ourselves. The first week most of the students who were involved in what's going on here the whole year. We talked about what it is that we're all about here. What is the Mohawk Nation? Why does the Mohawk Nation seek recognition? What is it all about? Plus our recognition of the responsibility we have that goes along with that, the responsibility we have to act like a Nation, and an individual within that Nation."

"There are responsibilities and restrictions we have on ourselves too. Also the students felt that we have to be more disciplined if we're going to really strive to be a Nation. Some of the students had heard that we're presenting papers in Geneva and they want to know more about that. Are we ready to take the responsibility to act like a Nation? Are the students ready to take that kind of responsibility in five or ten years? They will be the ones who will be recognized as leaders, not that the older ones will be gone anywhere, but it will be their turn and a lot of the students seem like they really are responsible. That's amazing. They have a real 'want' to learn about things. They want more homework than they are getting, they want more reading. It's almost hard to keep up with them all the time."

One of the reasons the school was started is that the adults do see the students as future leaders. Are the students aware of that?

"I think a lot of them are aware of it," the high school coordinator replied, "but it seems that the school system outside teaches them to postpone that responsibility until they're out of college. Postpone that until you're thirty, don't take that responsibility now. According to the Old Ways we were carrying the responsibility of families when we were 14 or 15 years old, now we have that delayed by 15 years, and that's a long time. I think you go through the public system where it's always delayed and other people are always taking that responsibility for you. It gives you a whole different outlook and a lot of the problems that we see might even stem from that, or maybe that's the way it was planned."

"The students are beginning to realize that they have to take responsibility. For example, the remodeling that we are doing in the garage to make it into the high school – the idea was brought up and two of the students picked up the idea and they are the ones who are making sure it gets done. They are not waiting for the adults. The students came to the parent committee the other day and asked for the money to get insulation and lumber. They want to get the project done, now."



“

RON LAFRANCE, COORDINATOR FOR THE SCHOOL: 'THEIR FORM OF EDUCATION (PUBLIC SCHOOLS) WAS NOT BENEFITTING OUR COMMUNITY BECAUSE WE LOST OUR YOUNG PEOPLE. WE ARE PREPARING OUR STUDENTS TO BE GOOD CITIZENS OF THE MOHAWK NATION, JUST AS THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS PREPARE THEIR CHILDREN TO BE GOOD U.S. CITIZENS. WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DO THAT...'

”

They took the responsibility of getting it done so it's their whole project right now. Students who build a building, who put their time and effort into it are going to take care of it. That's something we don't see in the public school system”

The pre-Kindergarten classes are entirely in Mohawk language. It is felt that it is necessary to establish the language first. Kindergarten is also in as much Mohawk language as possible.

The primary grades has as curriculum: Mohawk language, language arts, math, reading, social studies (home and community), and science. The afternoons are for culture-based learning with the focus on Mohawk oral language development integrated with their studies. Local community people, elders and leaders, work with the staff to develop the afternoon activities.

Traditional education of the Indian people is multi-disciplined, not simply mind development. Mini-“Home Economics” classes are being held to teach the students about foods and food preparation for the ceremonies throughout the year. One project the student will be working on is building a large earth oven to accommodate baking thirty loaves of bread at one time. The oven will be patterned after those used by the Southwest Indian people. This is one of the steps in building self-sufficiency. The most important goal is to facilitate learning so that the students will have a good self-concept as Indians, promote self reliance, and promote respect for and skills in living in harmony with others and the environment and mastering the academics and/or vocational skills necessary to self-sufficiency in a dualistic society.

The junior and senior high program has a core academic program with language arts, mathematics, science and social studies. This program is also goal oriented, mixing academic studies with culture-based curriculum with emphasis on learning skills, completing tasks, research and projects. Language acquisition as it relates to the cultural ceremonies and functions is stressed. For example, the various speeches that are given throughout the ceremonies contain a vast history and variety of concepts that are newly discovered phenomena in Western thought. Each elective has been thought through to determine how the skills learned will benefit both the student and the community. As the student learns, the community also learns by doing together as participators, not observers. It is planned that as the school grows, land is acquired and buildings built, that gardens will be planted which will support the school lunch program and will also contribute to the support of the school's families.

Self-sufficiency plans include alternative housing styles, bio-intensive gardening, solar green houses, processing/curing of foods, solar water heaters, waterless toilets, wind generators, earth ovens, and solar food dryers. These activities are being presented in theory now and will be hands-on projects when land is acquired. Woven into the curriculum are environmental and ecology issues which are presented from the viewpoint of Mohawk cultural beliefs.

“Our children should come out of our own schools knowing at least as much, and hopefully more, than they would coming out of the public school,” says Brenda LaFrance, a biology teacher. “Science will help them realize and look at the world around them. They will know how the polluted air they breathe affects them, how the water with fluoride and mercury which they drink affects them and how the pollution affects the food we grow in the earth.”

The Mohawk Nation sits in one of the most heavily polluted areas of the United States. Alcoa and Reynolds aluminum plants are located nearby and a General Motors Chevrolet plant which dumps chemical pollutants on the land is within eyesight of the school.

Across the St. Lawrence River, a Domtar Paper mill deposits mercury wastes into the waterways. We know these pollutants affect our health.

Land-based economics is self-sufficiency, another of the vital processes of sovereignty, a long-range goal of the school.

“The future of any Native Nation these days is directly linked to its ability right now to grow its sustenance on its own secure land-base,” said one of the parents recently. “We know that. We have known that. The school community, the families, the parents, the teachers, the NOTES staff – we all hope that this school process... will be the process by which these perceptions will become a reality.”

Children's Notes by Carol Cornelius Mohawk

This time of the year is a very special time in the lives of our Native Peoples. It is fall, our Mother Earth is getting ready to pull her blanket of snow over herself for the winter. She, Mother Earth, has given us many foods during this growing season.

In the Springtime, Mother Earth removes her blanket of snow and all the plants begin to grow anew, with the help of the Elder Brother Sun who helps to wake up the plants with his warmth. Have you ever taken a walk in the woods during the springtime? All around you, the world is still the brown color of the past year, yet if you look carefully you will see the very first green plant gently peeking through the earth. A special, refreshing, warm feeling goes through you as you marvel at the beauty of new green plants. It is a time to give thanks, to be grateful that another growing season has arrived. The Creator continues to provide life on this Mother Earth.

During the growing season we harvest foods from the natural environment such as many types of berries, wild onions, flowers, herbs, cattails, nuts, apples and grapes.

As Native Peoples, we plant crops for food. We have enjoyed a good harvest. Now is the time for us to give a thanksgiving for the white corn, beans and squash which we call the Three Sisters, our sustainers. We also planted tomatoes, onions, potatoes, lettuce, watermelons, peas, sweet corn and many other foods.

An important part of the harvest is learning how to preserve or keep the foods which we gathered from the natural world. These are the foods which we grow to feed us through the winter while Mother Earth rests. We learned that our ancestors used the warmth from the Elder Brother Sun to dry foods. Our ancestors also used root cellars and corn cribs to store food. Our people were amazing food growers. Many of our people are still amazing food growers. Native people know that having the ability to grow food and use Nature's foods are an important part of our world and our beliefs.

We also, at this harvest time, give a greeting and thanksgiving to all the other forces in the natural world.

We direct our minds to our Mother Earth who since the beginning of time has supported us. Mother Earth has given us everything we need to live.

The initial base of the self-sufficiency process requires a concentrated effort at fundraising. Grassroots fundraising, including raffles, bake sales and lawn sales are currently underway. An Akwesasne Freedom School T-shirt is being distributed by the NOTES, with all proceeds going to the school.

Other items needed by the school include: writing tablets, pencils and pens; basic math and non-stereotypical reading materials; tape recorders and typewriters; charged batteries of all types; building materials; arts and graphic materials; maps.

At this time we give a greeting and thanksgiving to the bodies of water and to the Thunder People who give rain to all the plants so that they may grow with the help of the Four Winds who help support life.

We direct our minds to Grandmother Moon and the stars who give moisture from the dew for the plants, during the night.

We give a greetings to the grasses, herbs and all vegetation which the Creator put on this Mother Earth. The Creator's master plan was that we would be interdependent on each other – on these herbs and grasses that feed the animals and wild game which we then eat.

Sakokwenonkwaw, one of our Chiefs says, “The Creator gave us a simple instruction – that we should be grateful for everything we use. As you walk about the Earth, every life you see, you will acknowledge it with gratitude. You will always be grateful”. Native people remember the harvest time and give a greeting and thanksgiving.

A special thanks to Kariwaienne one of our clanmothers who helped write this article.

CREATIVE THOUGHT

During the harvest season, our people have the Harvest Ceremony. We enjoy eating some of the foods which we harvested. The women have a big role in getting everything ready for the harvest.

It seems possible to our people that the beginning of what is known across North America as Thanksgiving Day came from the Harvest Ceremonies of the Native Peoples all over the world. What do you think?

DO YOU KNOW THE MEANING OF THESE WORDS?

Anew
Sustain
vegetation
interdependent
acknowledge
gratitude

CORRECTION STEREOTYPES was misspelled in our last issue. Sorry.



IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY



It was evening, June 9th, 1980, and in the meeting house at the traditional camp there were several dozen people already waiting.

Outside, in the courtyard, there were quite a few people also milling about. You could look down the three hundred or so yards to the camp gate and see car after car coming in. Standing in the courtyard, by the radio shack, you could hear the warriors on the gate radio ahead as each car was identified. The road and the grounds surrounding the NOTES' office were packed with cars.

Inside, one of the chiefs, Jake Swamp, now stood up. The people quieted down and some of the men took off caps and hats. Jake Swamp stood for a minute watching the people come in. It was a steady stream. Then, looking directly ahead of him and down, his face very impassive, he began to speak.

Jake Swamp spoke in Mohawk. He is a medium-height, square-faced man who gives off a very steady, calm feeling. The people kept coming in and as they did so, they quickly found their place and there was no one speaking out of turn or fooling around and Jake Swamp continued to speak. He was giving the Thanksgiving Address, with which the traditional peoples of the Haudenosaunee open every political meeting, religious ceremony or public gathering.

The Thanksgiving Address is a recognition, an appreciation by the human beings to the Great Creator for all life, for all the manifestations of his great work that share the Earth with the human beings. It takes a good while to say. Within it — the Creator, the Mother Earth, the vegetation, bushes, trees, flowers, grasses; the Three Sisters which sustain life — Corn, Beans, Squash — the leaders, chiefs, advisors of the People; the rivers, lakes, springs, all the waters of the Earth; the herbs and roots of all kinds which serve for medicinal purposes; the strawberry, the fruit-bearing trees, the Maple, which provides the sweetened water, all the trees; all the animals — from the smallest to the largest, the birds, all the heavenly bodies — the Grandmother Moon, the Elder Brother Sun, the great stars, the Grandfather Thunderers, all that is remembered at that moment and all the roles in the Great Plan of Creation is mentioned, appreciated. Jake Swamp was giving the Thanksgiving Address. As he finished mention of a particular section, he would ask the people to put their minds together as one and give thanks. The people would respond then: "Io..."

When he was done, Jake sat down. The meeting was open.

Tom Porter stood. "I guess we have a report from the women first," he said. "They went over today to try to talk with the state police about their actions on the reservation."

The women were standing and sitting all around the long, crowded room. Some of the people were smoking cigarettes so there was a bit of blue haze coming off the lights. The women looked at each other and you could see some laugh and smirk as they remembered the events of that day. On one side, a small group huddled and then finally a young woman stepped out.

"I've been asked to make the report on today's meeting with the police," she said. Then she rolled her eyes and gave a short laugh. "Well, it wasn't much of a meeting," she said. "I guess an encounter or confrontation would be a better way to describe it."

In the Mohawk Nation Territory, for several weeks, there had been open hostility between Mohawk nationals and troopers from the State of New York.

Within the previous 48 hours, two Mohawk men had been beaten savagely and arrested. The climate was one of mounting tension and fear. Kids had been shot at while playing, set-up attempts had been made on specific Mohawk warriors. The State Police seemed to be cruising everywhere.

The previous night about 75 Mohawk women had met. Most of them were traditional — Longhouse women; quite a few, however, were non-traditionals who were also concerned. It was apparent to all of them that the tension on the reservation was leading to a situation of war.

According to the Great Law of the Six Nations Confederacy, of which the Mohawk Nation is a member, it is the women who are the hereditary holders of the chieftainship titles, and the elder women of each clan select the clan chiefs. The Law of the Six Nations Confederacy is a matrilineal law — the children always belong to their mother's clan because the family line is passed down through the women. The women control the home and are the ones to whom the land belongs. When hostilities or war with another people or nation appears eminent, it is the women who often decide the course of action.

"We wanted to do something" one of them would say later. "Everything seemed to be at a stand-off. You know, the State Police are not even wanted on the reservation by a great majority of Mohawks. To us, they represent an intrusion by an outside people who don't even understand us. What's more, they are afraid, too, when they come in here. So they overreact all the time... All the time they carry the big rifles (M-16s) and they are really vicious when they take after our men."

"At that meeting that was something we all shared — a wish to put a stop to their brutal ways on the reservation. There were women at that meeting who had lost men in their families, beaten to death by the police."

"For the Longhouse women in particular, it was also a question of jurisdiction and sovereignty. All this whole struggle in this camp this past year and then all the other fights we had with them before — that's what it's all about, defending the sovereignty that is left to us as a Nation, defending our chiefs, defending our law and our land."

Another woman had said: "We wanted to do something. The warriors are defending the camp. Any meeting between them and the police — who knows where that will go? The chiefs can't even leave the camp! So it was up to the women to try and do something."

The Mohawk traditional women had never willfully accepted the intrusion of the American and Canadian governments upon their territories. Both the Canadian side's Band Council and the American side Elective System government had been imposed by force of arms.

It was in the 1890's when the Canadian government imposed the Band Council elections. The Clanmothers instructed the Longhouse chiefs to challenge it. Under armed guard, with the People directly protesting, a Band Council election was attempted. The Clanmothers, with the people behind them, marched on the site and successfully blocked the election. Subsequent clashes occurred. The Canadian police then carried out a raid

during which an unarmed older Mohawk man was shot and killed. The Longhouse chiefs were captured and imprisoned for over a year.

In the 1910's, 1920's, and 1930's there were constant protests on record by the Longhouse government that it

constituted the only legitimate government of the Mohawk People. Local newspapers carried the stories. In June, 1935, they blocked the elections for a time on the American side. They did so again in 1937 and in 1948 it was the Clanmothers again who issued the call and united the people to throw out the Elective System government. Men loyal to the Nation had, at that time, run for Elective System office on the platform that once elected they would disband that government, resign and ask New York State to recognize the Longhouse Chiefs as the only legitimate Mohawk government. They won the election by a landslide and kept their word. Neither New York State nor the United States would, of course, allow such freedom to the Mohawks. After a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign, during which the traditionals were accused of treason, a large, well-armed contingent of State Troopers was brought in. In the off-reservation town of Fort Covington, they then staged a mockery of an election, and with less than twenty votes, replaced the three loyal Mohawks with Mohawk-Americans whom they labelled "Trustees."

In 1968, some women got fed up with the treatment they were receiving from the guards at the border that ostensibly separates the "Canadian" and "American" sides of Akwesasne. It was an issue that had been simmering for years. The border, which had never been recognized as a division of the Mohawk territory by the traditional government, was considered an act of aggression by the Mohawk People. Since 1842, it had been an instrument of the Canadian and U.S. governments to divide the people into Canadian Mohawks and American Mohawks, with almost everyone having family on both sides. Certification of residency (as Canadian or American "side") became a means by which the Canadian and American governments could control dissent among the people. Border taxes, denial of free access to their own territory, and the constant harassment by the border guards brought the resistance to a head. Several hundred Mohawk People, led by the Longhouse Clanmothers, took over and blockaded the International Bridge between Canada and the United States, situated on Cornwall Island, Mohawk Nation Territory. There were beatings, some 48 arrests and the struggle intensified. Finally, the Mohawk Warriors threatened to take out the bridge altogether. The Canadian and U.S. authorities gave in. The Mohawks (all Mohawks — Longhouse or not) won the right to cross the border unchecked.

Now, at the meeting house of the Raquette Point Encampment, the women were making their report. The previous night, they had decided to draft a letter and deliver it to the State Police Headquarters at Massena New York. In the letter, they were requesting that the State troopers be pulled out of the Akwesasne Territory. The young woman spoke:

"We got together today around 4:30 p.m. at Hogsburg and started a caravan to the State Police Headquarters. We had this letter that we wanted to deliver to their commander, Major Schneeman, asking him to pull his men off the reservation. On the way, we followed one another, in cars, and as the caravan went along you could see other cars join in, more women catching up and meeting us at different points."

"We got to the Massena Substation a little after 5:00 p.m.. We went up to the door, knocked, and one state trooper stuck his head out. We told him why we were there and gave him a copy of the letter. He said to wait, that in about five minutes the sergeant would be there."

"We waited. About five minutes later, a trooper car pulled up, with two troopers in it. Shortly after that another trooper car pulled in with two more troopers in

it. Then, two or three minutes later, a third trooper car pulled in. Then, a red, unmarked State car — and that one carried BCI officer Fontain. Then, after another ten minutes, another green, unmarked car pulled up and that's when Major Schneeman got there."

One of the women, a non-traditional, had approached Major Schneeman with the letter. The major told the women to wait and then went into the Headquarters. The women gathered at the steps.

A little later he re-emerged. "I want to speak to your leader," he said. Major Schneeman is a tall, military-looking man.

"We told him we didn't have a leader," the young woman reported. "We told him we all came with one message and with one voice and that our purpose there was to deliver that letter."

"I want to speak with the leader," the major repeated, and by now his troopers were flanking him and spreading out.

One of the women in the parking lot that day was Bonnie Square. She was the fiance of one of the men who had been beaten two nights before. She is a young, slightly-built woman. Now, two days after witnessing the savage beating of her fiance by some of the same troopers now dispersing through the crowd, she was a bit apprehensive. She decided to sit in a car.

Major Schneeman began to move through the crowd. He did this with the full weight of his body, roughly, bumping the women hard who were in his way. The troopers around him pulled their billy-clubs and held them at arms-length.

"What about our letter?" one of the women demanded.

Major Schneeman looked beyond her to the parked car. Brushing the woman aside, he headed for the car. "Bonnie Square," he said loudly, "I have a warrant for your arrest!"

Bonnie Square looked at him from inside the car as he walked toward her, and some of the women standing near moved between them. Schneeman stopped. Here and there his troopers struggled with some of the women. A local television crew had their cameras out and filming. That evening area residents would see the Mohawk women shoved by the troopers' billy clubs; they would see one being choked by a BCI officer — officer Fontain.

Schneeman shouted: "Bonnie Square, I have a warrant for your arrest on the charge of second degree assault. Come out of that car!"

The women said: "Bonnie, don't listen. Don't come out. Lock the doors. We have to talk about this first."

"We didn't know what to do," the young woman reported at the meeting house. "It had caught us off-guard. It was exactly what we didn't want — another confrontation."

"Our feeling is that the warrant for Bonnie was something he threw together right there, because Bonnie had been all over the past two days. She even went to bail out her fiance at Judge Brockway's and the cops had been right there and nobody said anything about a warrant then."

"Right then, though, the troopers were getting pretty riled, like they just wanted a good excuse to start swinging their billy-clubs. I remember I tried to walk up to Schneeman and this one trooper stood in my way. He grinned and put his billy-club up. 'Try me,' he said, 'Just try me.'"

"It was really depressing, like if we had been the men that would have been it right there. Bonnie, she was really shaken and we were scared for her but the more we tried to hold the troopers, the meaner they got, so finally we had to make a compromise that some of us be allowed to accompany her while they booked her and took her down for arraignment."

The young woman paused. On her face, there was suddenly a chagrined and sad look as though she wished to say: "I don't know what's going to happen now. We tried and it turned bad like this..." But the words weren't necessary. Everybody in the long room was silent, pondering, and through the open windows, here and there, the crackle of the warrior's radio communications.

Across the room, another woman stepped out. She was older, likely in her sixties.

"I went with them," she said. "Most of you know me. You know I haven't been too active lately but my heart has been with this camp. Over the years I've always been

fighting, always fighting for Mohawk rights."

Around the room, you could see some of the older men nod. There was a trickle of laughter in the room. The woman was standing behind a bunch of young people and now she leaned forward, her hands resting on the back of a chair.

"The State Police, the troopers: I don't like them on our land. They don't understand us. They don't recognize us. The ones of you that know me, the older ones, you remember that I've always fought them. Because I am a fighter and I believe in my rights as a Mohawk grandmother. Boy, sometimes I've had to take a stick after them myself..."

Now, many of the older ones were laughing. The woman's face was full of lines and she had a mirthful, sparkling look. She smiled. "You remember," she said. "I'm not big, but I'm tough."

"This thing we did today, though — I have to say it kind of left me scared. Scared and mad, worried. Worried especially for you the young men, because it is you that the troopers will take it out on. I'm worried about this camp too, and all the children and the fine people here. What I want to say is maybe this is one time that we have to be very careful because what they have in their hearts, those troopers out there, and that commander of theirs. (It) is ugly, very, very ugly. And my feeling is that they're getting ready for something, that they're setting up for some kind of move against this camp. There's just a whole lot of them too, many of them and they've killed out people before, and you know, they fight for money."

The woman was silent. In her face was an admonishing sort of expression, her eyebrows raised and her eyes still smiling.

Another woman stood.

"I've been in this camp for over a year," she said. "Over a year. Last August 28th, when the troopers raided us last time, I woke up with a shotgun in my face, my husband here like a prison, my kids scared, the troopers yelling at us. In our night clothes, just like that. Not even time to put on a dress. We didn't know what then, if they'd beat us, maybe they'd just kill us. YOU remember that time..."

She was short and solid-looking, a serious self-restrained expression on her face. She was wearing jeans and a light blouse.

"Now, we have the warriors here," she went on. "Their job is to defend us. They know how to take care of the state police. They are on guard for us. They do a lot of negotiating."

She now turned slightly, her hands lifted and touching. "It's been over a year. I don't know. Maybe I don't know. Away from my home, living all bunched up like this, not knowing, wanting a little peace. The women go out there, maybe it does some good, maybe it just makes them mad."

"The Mohawk way, we have a chiefs' council. This is where our matters are discussed. The right way. Time to deliberate. Time for the people to know. Then we can have a binding decision."

"The state police don't like us very much. It is hard on the women, this life of being away from our families, our homes. We have to be careful."

Other discussion followed. One of the chiefs read a press release that was to be issued on the escalating possibility of police attack on the traditional camp. A few corrections were added.

Then, it was late. Jake Swamp stood again. Everyone was quiet. He gave the Thanksgiving Address one more time, to close off the meeting. As he would finish each section of the address, he would ask that the People put their minds together and give thanks. "Io!" they would respond each time, "Io."



BASIC CONFLICT

Continued from page 30



The coalition, though, is having good success in changing popular thought in New Mexico, which despite its energy resources has among the highest utility rates in the U.S..

Environmental groups like the Sierra Club, New Mexico People and Energy, and Southwest Research

charge that the Public Service Company of New Mexico is rapidly expanding its generating capacity, not to meet the needs of New Mexico residents but to provide power to energy-hungry Californians.

The Sierra Club's Calkin speculates that PNM will use the geothermal project to generate electricity for New Mexicans and send its coal-generated electricity to California. PNM recently announced the sale of \$480 million of power to San Diego Gas and Electric.

PNM President Jerry Geist said at a private business meeting in the state capital that PNM was in an advantageous position to meet the electricity needs of California.

In 1978, New Mexico had the third highest jump in state average bills for a typical 500 kilowatt residential consumer. Fortune lists PNM as one of the fastest growing utilities in the nation. In 1979, the company's profits jumped 46% over 1978 and 120% over 1977. The increases are due to PNM's astounding rate of expansion, which are immediately included in its rate base.

Save the Jemez asks, "So why ruin the Jemez Mountains for a source of energy that would trade perhaps our state's most beautiful area for California kilowatts?"

Art Wilbur admits the project's adverse environmental impacts, but he says the energy crisis dictates that we develop this resource in New Mexico. "Geothermal resources could supply at least 5 percent of our total energy needs," he said.



"Too many of us are too much concerned with what happens to us and not with what happens to the state or the country as a whole," said a spokesperson from an energy company at public hearings on the project.

"The enrichment of life is not just going out and looking at the mountains. It is being able to go home and lights and a stove," he continued.

Bruce Terris, the attorney for Santa Clara, said the pueblo will not benefit from the project, but will suffer loss of quality of their life.

He told the DOE, "We who are non-Indians have a special obligation to our Indian brothers. Most of us can pick up and move if our environment is destroyed, but our Indian friends cannot pick up and move. In order to move, they would have to give up their culture, religion, and independence."

Traditional Values In Childbearing

By Katsi Cook

FORMING CHILD

In the traditional ways, we are instructed to direct our minds and energies to the well-being of the unborn, whose faces come toward us from the flesh and spirit of our common mother, the Earth. For Native Peoples still withing the realm of the natural world; who continue to relate to all life forms as part of the sacred web of life, childbearing is a matter for the women's community, and covers the time of preconception to the time the child is completely weaned. This may be a period of 2 to 6 years. During this span, the child originates and is formed within the mind and the womb of the mother, the child's first universe. The fragile life, nurtured and prepared by the mother's thoughts and actions, is then born into the larger community of the extended family, in which no child was homeless, abused or neglected and in which no mother was left without a support system for raising her child.

The physical and spiritual development of the child during the mother's childbearing years was attended to through the maintenance of a system of practices, functions and ceremonies which varied from nation to nation. These included nutritional taboos and privileges, distinct spiritual attitudes, use of cradleboards, care of the placenta and the making of a cord bundle; naming ceremonies, and feasts geared to specific stages of the child's development, such as the Cree walking ceremony. These functions provided the child with good health and an identity within the community, and, ultimately, upon the very Earth. The child would then be prepared to become caretaker of the world into which it was born. In these ways, the cycle of life continued.

When we consider the devastation suffered by Native nations as a result of continuing colonization by western civilization, we see that the ones who suffer most are infants and small children. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, Child Abuse, Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (crib Death) birth defects and developmental disabilities are continuing to rise in incidence in Indian communities. It is sad irony that this should be the case among peoples who considered children to be sacred beings.

What is happening here?

Full hospitalization for childbirth for native women was accomplished by the Indian Health Service in the 1950's. Since that time, traditional skills relating to childbearing have been gradually reduced to ethnographic meaningfulness as the responsibility for maternal and infant care shifted from the women's community within Indian Societies to the centralized hospital systems. In short, we, as native women & mothers are forsaking the traditional art of childbearing. Our struggle demands strong women, strong mothers and we must not internalize our oppression. As mothers, and related women, we are the source of the nation's possibility. We look at the Earth, the natural world, and the elders remind us that everything we need for a good life is provided for us by our common mother. In a traditional world, our laws, education, religion, medicines, food, shelter and clothing—everything came from the Earth, our Mother. Childbearing is the fundamental expression of the nurturing powers of the Earth coming through the female life. Yet, more and more we are becoming dependent on a way of life that does not belong to us. So dependent that breastfeeding, nutrition, birthing, parenting and control over our own health and reproduction have become unfamiliar skills to us. We have been colonized by a highly technological culture based on material notions of development and power which has yet to improve on the quality and outcome of traditional maternal and infant care.

One portrayal of this genocidal situation is in the area of traditional infant nutrition—breastfeeding, and bottle feeding... Dr. Otto Schaefer...

Dr. Otto Schaefer, Director of the Northern Medical Research Unit of the Canadian Department of Health and Welfare, is considered to be the major authority on the tragic effects of modern civilization on the



THE VALUE OF BREASTFEEDING

"In the old days, our women used to open their blouse and suckle their young at their breasts."

"Then they started feeding their babies with animals' milk from a bottle"

"Should we be surprised now when we find that our

young people of sixteen and seventeen years of age are going around with a bottle stuck in their mouths and acting like animals?

Adrien Hope, Metis elder
Kikino, Alberta
taken from "The Native Perspective"

traditional cultural values in Northern Canada. His research report, "When Breastfeeding Declines—The Tragic Effect of Bottlefeeding Among Eskimo and Indians of Northern Canada", vindicates that bottle feeding "has increased in urbanized settlements during the last 20 years from 4.5% to 73.6% of all infants. More women breast-fed in the more isolated hunting camps; these areas have not been as open to the influence of the white man's ideas. In the town of Frobisher Bay almost 40% of children born between 1955-65, the decade following construction of the DEW line, were bottle fed from birth or before the end of the first month and nearly 75% before the end of the first year while in the same age group in hunting camps the rates were under 10% and 32% respectively.

Prolonged lactation is not done anymore. The 3-4 years of breast feeding has been shortened or abandoned with the increasing use of the bottle. This has resulted in shorter birth intervals. In the past, lactation delayed conception. A 1969-72 study demonstrated that older mothers who had breastfed each child some 25-38 months conceived at intervals of 18-34 months. The younger women in the study, who breastfed less than 2 months or not at all, were pregnant again 2-4 months postpartum.

Dr. Schaefer contends that new values are damaging. "As a result native people are suffering. Families are becoming less cohesive and less supportive and exert less influence in the community. In the past the Eskimo ate raw meat. This conserved fuel which was scarce, saved cooking time, and preserved the marginal amounts of Vitamin C in the traditional diet. The Eskimo mother would chew the meat of fish first and then give it to her

baby or young child. This practice was probably stopped by hygiene-conscious health personnel".

DOUBLED MORTALITY

"There is statistical evidence to show other results of the decline in breastfeeding; early bottle-feeding has doubled the mortality risk for Eskimo infants, there is a 6X higher incidence of persistent ear infection, respiratory disease has increased dramatically, as have infectious diarrhoea; gastro-intestinal, and chronic lung than in the past and these are the solids brought in by the white man such as cereals and candies. As more carbohydrates than protein are ingested, tooth decay becomes rampant throughout the population and hypoglycemia becomes more common. There has been a sharp increase in anemia among Native peoples. Statistical evidence has shown more bottlefed babies die of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome. SIDS has increased in the Native population."

The words of Dr. Schaefer, who has travelled extensively for many years in the north, show us exactly what these changes have meant to the Native population:

"In traditional Inuit society children were remarkably seldom heard to cry, indeed a frequently crying baby was felt to reflect poor care and understanding.... I am struck when revisiting areas of former activity by the number of cranky, crying children nowadays, who are lying in cribs or corners of beds with milk bottles propped up on pillows, oozing all over them, and when checked are found in wet and dirty diapers with sore bottoms, which were rarely, if ever seen 20 years ago".

Winona LaDuke, a Chippewa researcher and writer, goes further into the political nature of health problems, and has this to add to a discussion on breastfeeding versus bottlefeeding:

"At one point, Native people could feed themselves from their land base, but foreign companies now dominate the reservations. Instead of dealing with the real issue, (lack of Native land and food,) the paternal benefactor pumps more "technological band-aids" into the impoverished area, which further support the foreign corporations. As the cycle of neocolonization is repeated, the third world comes home.

"The Indian Health Service (IHS) reports that 213 WIC programs operate today on 'federal recognized' Indian reservations. These programs service 47,824 women, infants, and children. Expectant and new mothers at IHS hospitals are given gift packs by WIC representatives. Packs contain a week's supply of formula, pampers, Johnson's baby oil and powder — all the needs of the new mother. IHS doctors then designate 'high risk' mothers and infants eligible for the program. The women are given vouchers for certain products which may be honored at the local trading post.

"The Navajo reservation, like most Indian reservations, is poor. Navajo per capita income in 1975 was one-fourth the national average, and unemployment averages 50%. High infant mortality rates and malnutrition reflect the depressed state of the reservation.

The closest store for most residents is a trading post, notorious for high prices, dependency oriented 'credit programs' and limited selection. Since 1971, USDA has operated the WIC program on the reservation, supplying infant formula and other products to the people. Walking into the Red Rock Trading Post in 1979, the casual consumer is overwhelmed by the front shelves stuffed with infant formula, Enfamil and Similac. Advertisements to 'Feed Baby Better' plaster the walls. On the cashiers stand lies a pile of WIC forms, ready for women to turn in their vouchers for Kellogg's cereal, Kraft Cheese, Delmonte canned products and their choice of name brand infant formula. The store owner can hardly keep up with the demand for formula."

One Indian mother of three children describes her experience with breastfeeding and the WIC program:

"I was so anxious to do everything right for my first baby, who was born at home. Well, I spent so much time reading and studying about labor and delivery and homebirth that I forgot to learn how to care for a newborn! So, no wonder my nipples cracked and started to bleed a little after I nursed her almost constantly for the first few days. I took my little daughter to the IHS clinic to get her checked out and get myself on the WIC Program. An aunt had told me that they give nursing mothers cheese, milk and eggs.

"When the Indian nurses there saw my cracked nipples, they scared me to death, telling me that I would get mastitis my daughter would get sick. I didn't think it was so bad, and I wanted to keep trying to breastfeed, but they made me feel like I had done everything wrong and that I had to just about sterilize my chest everytime I wanted to breastfeed my baby. So they showed me the cases of formula they had stacked in the closet, with cute pre-sterilized, pre-filled bottles in them. They wanted me to take the formula instead of the vouchers for the food. Well, they put up such a fuss that I ended up taking half the formula they offered me just so I could get out of there. I took the cases of stuff home and gave my baby the formula in addition to my breastmilk. She became colicky and screamed on that stuff so I finally gave it all to the dog. I never went back to that clinic.

"Now I am breastfeeding my third child, who is 5 months old. I wish I had known then what I know now, and I try to tell all the new mothers in my family about nursing their babies. It seems like there just isn't enough support for mothers to nurse."

As we can see, breastfeeding is a value which has further ramifications than newborn nutrition. Like all issues in childbearing — whether they be family controlled childbirth, the quality of prenatal and postpartum care, decentralization of medical services, appropriate technology and so on—it is important to understand the real difference in values and attitudes between western ways and traditional knowledge and to grasp how these differences affect the health of mothers

and infants. Just as important is the critical need for Native women to maintain the skills necessary for community health care which begins with the mothers themselves. Women's circles can carry the healthful traditional alternatives to young women and guide and support them in maintaining a personal sovereignty in the areas of reproductive health throughout the childbearing years.

If we are to truly call the Earth our Mother, then we must again seek her direction.

THE BENEFITS OF BREASTFEEDING

— immediately after delivery, the nursing infant stimulates the release of oxytocin from the pituitary gland which causes the uterus to contract. This is important for the prevention of hemorrhage. Continued breastfeeding allows the uterus to return to its pre-pregnant size and tone.

— breastfeeding provides the infant with nutrition naturally suited to its growth and development:
— babies fed cow's milk have an increased risk for adult diseases such as obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure and heart disease. These are diseases for which Native Americans are already at high risk.

— Native American peoples are especially allergic to cow's milk. Infants raised on substitutes to mother's milk risk digestive problems such as gastrointestinal infection.

— Among Native peoples, crib death is becoming increasingly high. There is some evidence that crib death occurs twice as often in bottle fed babies.

— Maternal immunities to infection and diseases are passed through the breastmilk to the infant:

— breastfed babies have less ear infection (otitis media). This is especially significant in the Native American population due to problems with the eustachian tube found in Indian peoples.

— breastfed babies have fewer viral infections.

— breastfed babies have fewer respiratory tract infections

— Breastfeeding is the natural continuation of the development of an emotional and physical bond between the mother and infant.

— When practiced to the exclusion of all other foods, breastfeeding usually inhibits the menstrual cycle so that there is no ovulation and no monthly bleeding.

FOR A CHILD AT BREAST

THINK IN A CIRCLE

AROUND THIS GENTLE MOUNTAIN
AND SOON THE MOUNTAIN

WILL BECOME AS CRYSTAL
AND YOU WILL SEE THE OPEN VALLEY

THROUGH THE CRYSTAL MOUNTAIN
AND ALL THE TRUTH OF MOUNTAIN
AND VALLEY WILL BE YOURS

AND CIRCLE THE MOUNTAIN GENTLY
AND GENTLY ENTER
THAT PEACEFUL VALLEY
WHERE THE CRYSTAL'S HEART
HAS ITS LODGE

adapted from a poem by Blue Cloud

Sterilization

STERILIZATION WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS

If the federal government is paying you for your sterilization, new federal guidelines give you these rights:

1. It is your right to ask for an explanation of the sterilization operation.
2. It is your right to have all your questions concerning the operation answered.
3. It is your right to know that the sterilization operation is considered permanent and irreversible.
4. It is your right to receive a full description of the discomforts, risks and expected benefits from the sterilization operation.
5. It is your right to receive an explanation of other birth control methods you can use instead.
6. It is your right to have all the information you want, all of your questions answered and to give your permission for the operation in a language you understand. An interpreter must be provided if the patient does not understand the language used on the consent form or the language used by the person getting your signature.
7. It is your right to bring someone with you when you sign the consent form.
8. You must wait at least 30 days to have the operation after you sign the consent form. Exceptions are situations of premature delivery or emergency abdominal surgery that takes place at least 72 hours after you sign the consent form.
9. It is your right to know that if you decide not to be sterilized, you cannot lose your welfare or any other government benefit as a result of that decision.
10. You cannot be threatened with the loss of children you already have because you are refusing to be sterilized.

This leaflet was prepared by the Sterilization Abuse Task Force. We stand for the reproductive rights of all women.

It is an abuse of reproductive rights to sterilize a woman without her informed and voluntary consent.

It is an abuse of reproductive rights when a woman must choose sterilization because she does not have access to birth control or abortion.

It is an abuse of reproductive rights when a woman must choose sterilization because she is poor and cannot support her children.

It is an abuse of reproductive rights when a woman chooses to be sterilized but is discouraged or prevented from having the operation.

Our Strategy For Survival

A MESSAGE TO THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

The invasion of the Western Hemisphere by European powers was preceded by centuries of social development which had resulted in societies in which the interests of the few had effectively become national policies, and the interests of the many were without voice in national affairs. In order that we might formulate a strategy for survival in the modern world, it has been necessary that we look at the forces and processes which threaten survival, and to begin to understand the real motivations behind those forces. With such an analysis in mind, we may then begin to create viable alternatives and strategies which will enable us to survive in a predictable future.

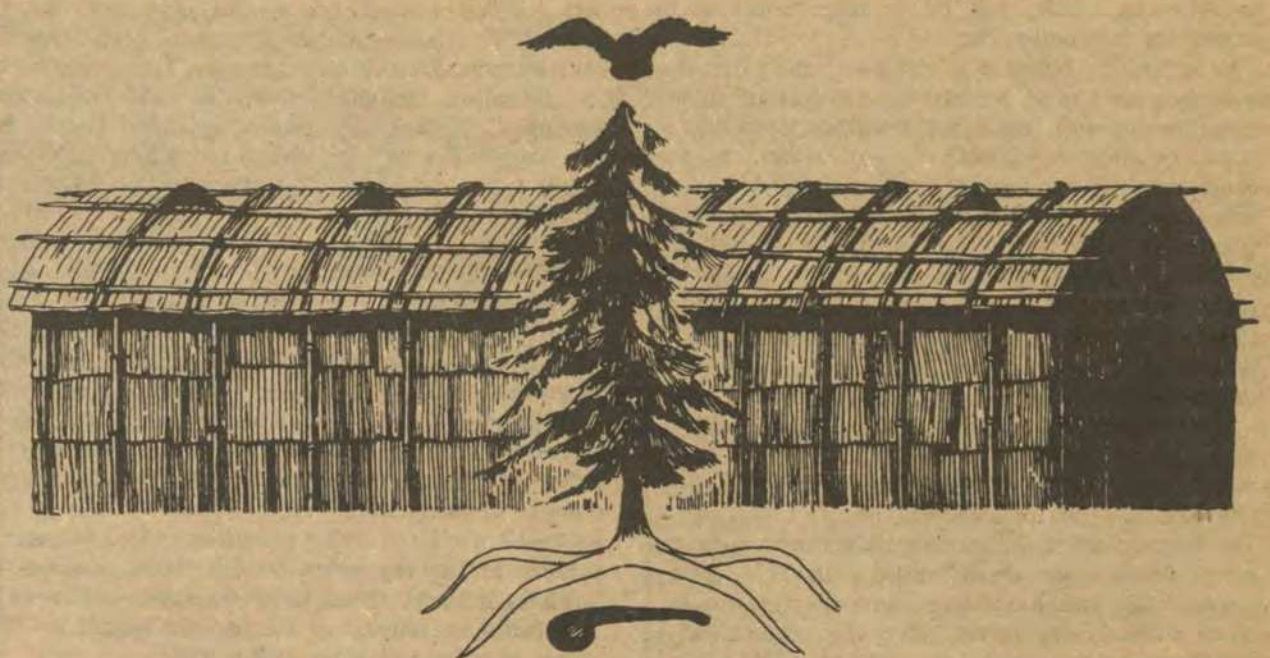
When history has been presented to us by colonizers, the focal elements have always been political histories. Alexander the Great's armies conquered most of the known ancient world, and when ancient history is studied, Alexander is studied. But are political histories really the correct focus? Did it make any difference, in the long run, that Alexander the Great, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Akhnaton, or any other figure in political history ever lived? Other than the effects that Julius Caesar's rise to power had on some individuals in the Roman aristocracy, would history have been any different if some other general had crossed the Rubicon, or, for that matter, if no Roman general had ever dared cross the Rubicon? Are political histories the correct focus of history in the search for that which has affected the lives of billions of the earth's population?

The really crucial developments in world history have been largely ignored by historians. The most profound changes which have taken place have been in the areas of technological change. Social history has largely been the recounting of the fortunes of the interest groups which were committed for one reason or another to some form of technological and/or cultural movement. When we are seeking the real cultural revolutions of history, do we not find that the rise of agriculture or animal husbandry or irrigation technology was a thousand times more significant in the history of humankind than were the adventures and political fortunes of the aristocracy and rulers of European countries?

It is important that we who are seeking ways of survival in the Twentieth Century begin by establishing new definitions and new fields of vision as we try to better understand the past. We need to look to history primarily because the past offers us a laboratory in which we can search to find that inherent process of Western Civilization that paralyzes whole societies and makes them unable to resist the process of colonization. We need to identify that process which so often leads people who are honestly seeking to resist and destroy colonization to unconsciously recreate (to recolonize) the elements of their own oppression. And, lastly, we need to understand that within colonization are the exact elements of social organization which are leading the world today to a crisis which promises a foreseeable future of mass starvation, deprivation, and untold hopelessness.

The current crisis which the world is facing is not difficult for people to understand. In the Western Hemisphere, the United States, with six percent of the world's population, uses forty percent of the world's energy resources. The world's supply of fossil fuels is finite, and it is estimated that within thirty years, at the present rate of consumption, the peoples of the world will begin to run out so some of those sources of energy, especially petroleum and natural gas. As the planet begins to run short of cheap energy, it is predictable that the world market economy will suffer and the people of the world who are dependent on that economy will suffer likewise. When the reality of world population growth is placed beside the reality of the current relationship of energy resources and food production, it becomes obvious that worldwide famine is a real possibility.

The spectre of worldwide famine, or even regional famines, cannot be interpreted as the simple product of a world of scarce resources overwhelmed by the needs of



expanding human populations. The situation is not that simple. In the United States, for example, a simple program of energy conservation — insulation of dwellings, office and industrial buildings — would cut back energy consumption by more than 25% in ten years, and even given growth predictions in terms of populations and economy, the U.S. could conceivably enjoy the current standard of living in the year 2000 while consuming less energy than is consumed in 1980.

The fact is that it is highly unlikely that the United States will adopt a program of energy conservation along lines which would drastically cut back consumption. The present U.S. political system is controlled by energy interests which are concerned with profit growth, and energy lobbyists are not interested in conservation. In fact, there is no sector of the U.S. economy which will move toward energy conservation as a national energy policy, even though such a policy might conceivably conserve wasted energy which could have gone toward production of food. The problems which we are facing today, as a species which inhabits a planet of limited resources, arise not simply out of physical limitations but from political realities.

It is a hard fact of life that the misery which exists in the world will be manipulated in the interests of profit. Politics and economics are intricately linked in the West, and social considerations command inferior priorities in the world's capitals. Energy conservation is not likely to become a policy in the Western countries generally, and the acceptable alternative in the eyes of the multinational energy corporations is the plan to create much more energy through the production of nuclear power plants, especially fast breeder reactors. The predictable misery caused by increases in energy prices which push up food prices (and thus drive the poor from the food market place) will also provide the grist for the promotion drives of the multinationals. Nuclear reactors will be made to sound more necessary and will create an environment in which whole areas of the world will become unproductive because of water, air and land pollution, and ultimately, nuclear pollution.

Technologies have political cousins. The same people who own the oil interests have enough clout in many governments to discourage serious and broadbased efforts at energy conservation. They have the ability to command governments to support energy development schemes which will leave them in control of the world's usable energy sources and also in control of the world's marketplace. The same people constitute a class of interest in the Western world which seeks to control every aspect of the economic life of all peoples. Practically every people in the West will be dependent on their controlled technologies for energy and food production, and all who enter the marketplace which they control will be colonized. Their lives and resources will be controlled and exploited by external interests.

The roots of a future world which promises misery, poverty, starvation and chaos lie in the processes which control and destroy the locally-specific cultures of the peoples of the world. To the extent that peoples and areas of the world are dependent on the giant multinational corporations which control production, distribution and consumption patterns and to that extent only is the future a dark and ominous one. For this reason, the definition of colonialism needs to be expanded in the consciousness of the peoples of the planet earth. Colonialism is a process by which indigenous cultures are subverted and ultimately destroyed in the interests of a worldwide market economy. The interests of the worldwide market economy, quite contrary to all of the teachings of the colonists, are exactly the interests which promise to create a crisis for humanity in the decades to come.

The dialectical opposite of that process would be the rekindling on a planetary basis of locally based culture. Prior to the advent of colonialism, culture was defined as the way of life by which people survived within their own environment, and their own environment was defined as the area in which they lived. Thus the process of survival involved the use of locally developed technologies which met the specific needs of the area. It was mentioned earlier that technologies have political cousins, and locally developed technologies have political cousins also. Decentralized technologies which are developed from a program designed to meet the needs of the people which those technologies serve will necessarily give life to a different kind of political structure and it is safe to predict that the political structure which results will be anti-colonial in nature.

Colonialism is at the heart of the impending world crisis. The development of liberation technologies, many of which already exist but have been largely ignored by the political movements, (even the anti-colonial political movements), are a necessary part of the decolonization process. Liberation technologies are those technologies which can be implemented by a specific people in a specific locality and which free those people from dependency upon multinational corporations and the governments which multinational corporations control. Liberation technologies are those which meet people's needs within the parameters defined by the cultures which they themselves created (or create), and which have no dependency upon the world marketplace. Windmills can be a form of liberation technology, as can water wheels, solar collectors, bio-mass plants, woodlots, underground home construction — the list is very long.

Colonialism, as we know it, was the product of centuries of social, economic and political development in the West. For hundreds of years, what have been euphemistically called "folk cultures" have been under pressure from a variety of sources, including warlords,

kings, popes, and large landowners who found it in their interest to exploit the labor and lands of the poor and the dispossessed. That process is still taking place today, although it has been refined to the point where the exploitation is in the hands of huge multinational corporations which continue to reap profits at the expense of the world's poor.

It is possible to make a strong argument that food shortages are almost entirely the product of colonial interests. Areas of land in the Third World, usually the most productive farming areas, today produce exclusively export crops while the indigenous peoples, and even the descendants of the colonizers, go hungry laboring in the coffee, banana and other plantations of the multinationals. Political movements which have sought to correct those wrongs have generally attempted to overthrow the state because they correctly saw the state as the tool of oppression and as the repository of excess wealth for the interests of the exploiters.

Most of the past "liberation movements" have not been successful in correcting the most horrendous wrongs of colonialism, however, because they assumed that the problem lie solely in the fact that private interests controlled the state for their own benefit. The error of most such movements lies in the fact that they sought to liberate the country from living human beings, much as history assumes that Julius Caesar was somehow significant to the history of the West. They failed to understand that it did not matter whether Del Monte grew sugar cane or a liberated government grew sugar cane, that the problem was that export crops do not meet the needs of indigenous peoples. Most liberation efforts, therefore, recreate in some form the dependency which they sought to replace. They do not attempt to develop even the concept of liberation technologies, and they do not understand the need to become independent of the world market economy because the world market economy is ultimately controlled by interests which seek power or profit and which do not respond to the needs of the world's peoples.

Given the impending world crisis in the areas of food and energy, a comprehensive strategy for survival will include a concept of liberation technologies which free peoples from dependency on economies which are controlled by external interests. Liberation technologies have political cousins, just as colonizing technologies have, and those political cousins need careful consideration. Liberation technologies are accompanied by liberation political structures and liberation theologies. Of these two entities, colonized peoples in the West would be well advised to place considerable energy into the creation of true liberation theologies as a very high priority.

Liberation theologies are belief systems which challenge the assumption, widely held in the West, that the earth is simply a commodity which can be exploited thoughtlessly by humans for the purpose of personal material acquisition within an ever-expanding economic framework. A liberation theology will develop in people a consciousness that the earth is a sacred being and that all life on the earth is sacred and that the sacredness of life is the key to human freedom and survival. It will be obvious to many non-Western peoples that it is the renewable quality of earth's ecosystems which makes life possible for human beings on this planet, and that if anything is sacred, if anything determines both quality and future possibility of life for our species on this planet, it is that renewable quality of life.

The renewable quality — the sacredness of every living thing, that which connects human beings to the place which they inhabit — that quality is the single most liberating aspect of our environment. It is the fact that life is renewable and that all the things which support life are renewable, and that they are renewed by a force greater than any governments, greater than any living or historical thing that holds the only hope for human survival on this planet. A consciousness of the web that holds all things together, the spiritual element that connects us to reality and the manifestation of that power to renew which is present in the existence of an

eagle or a mountain snowfall — that consciousness was the first thing which was destroyed by the colonizers.

A strategy for survival must include a liberation theology — call it a philosophy or cosmology if you will, but we believe it to be a theology — or humankind will simply continue to view the earth as a commodity and will continue to seek more efficient ways to exploit that which they have not come to respect. If these processes continue unabated and unchanged at the foundation of the colonizer's ideology, our species will never be liberated from the undeniable reality that we do live on a planet of limited resources, and that sooner or later we must exploit our environment beyond its ability to renew itself.

Our strategy for survival is to create and implement liberation technologies which are consistent with and complementary to a liberation theology which arises out of our culture and is the product of the Natural World. It happens that we, the Haudenosaunee, have fallen heir to a liberation political structure which may be the oldest continuously operating governmental system in the world. We know that our traditional technologies arose from our traditional worldview, and that our political structure was largely a product of the technological and worldview elements of our society.

The Haudenosaunee presented three papers to the non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations at Geneva, Switzerland in 1977. Those papers were intended to introduce the people of the Western World to our understanding of the history of the West and the prospects for the future. We have taken many steps since the presentation of those papers to begin the process by which we may provide for the future of our people. Many of our communities are struggling against colonialism in all of its forms. We have established food co-ops, survival schools, alternative technology projects, adult education programs, agricultural projects, crafts programs, and serious efforts at cultural revitalization are underway.



"THE RENEWABLE QUALITY — THE SACREDNESS OF EVERY LIVING THING, THAT WHICH CONNECTS HUMAN BEINGS TO THE PLACE WHICH THEY INHABIT — THAT QUALITY IS THE SINGLE MOST LIBERATING ASPECT OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. IT IS THE FACT THAT LIFE IS RENEWABLE AND THAT ALL THE THINGS WHICH SUPPORT LIFE ARE RENEWABLE, AND THAT THEY ARE RENEWED BY A FORCE GREATER THAN ANY LIVING OR HISTORICAL THING THAT HOLDS THE ONLY HOPE FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL ON THIS PLANET. A CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WEB THAT HOLDS ALL THINGS TOGETHER, THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENT THAT CONNECTS US TO REALITY AND THE MANIFESTATION OF THAT POWER TO RENEW WHICH IS PRESENT IN THE EXISTENCE OF AN EAGLE OR A MOUNTAIN SNOWFALL — THAT CONSCIOUSNESS WAS THE FIRST THING WHICH WAS DESTROYED BY THE COLONIZERS."



SHORT NOTES

TAHLTAN INDIANS OPPOSE STIKINGE DAM

The Stikine River on British Columbia (Canada) is one of the major salmon rivers in North America. The Tahltan Indians of Telegraph Creek are developing a commercial fishery on the Stikine in an effort to create economic stability for their community. Last year, the first full year of operation for the fishery, they reported a profit. British Columbia Hydro is reportedly planning to build two dams in the Grand Canyon of the Stikine, a development which the Native people say will effectively wipe out their commercial fishery. Some 99% of the Tahltan members of Telegraph Creek have signed a petition opposing dams on the Stikine, and a reported 100 percent of the residents of Iskut village signed a similar petition. Said Lorgan Bob, a member of the band's economic development committee: "We're not against northern development — we need it because of our high unemployment. But we don't like it when people come up from the south, use our resources and export the net benefits to the south."



"He says that his name is Columbus, and he's just discovered us!"

COLOMBIA: LAND DISPUTES IN THE SIERRA NEVADA DE SANTA MARIA

The 18,000 Ikas (or Arhuacos), the Kogi, and the Sanka are the last survivors of the numerous cultures which, before the Spanish conquest, inhabited the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the mountains area on the north coast of Colombia. Removed to the high mountains, they continue to resist the continual siege of the culturally alien and dominant society which surrounds them and effectively denies them the right to keep their land, maintain their own identity, and develop according to their own needs and desires.

This process began in the fifteenth century and still continues. Since the turn of this century, increasing cultivation of coffee (and later, in the Magdalena, of bananas) has intensified displacement. During the political violence which swept Colombia between 1946 and 1966 hundreds of peasants who were displaced from their land fled to the slopes of the Sierra. At that time roads were opened and new villages were founded. Today, these are the bridgeheads for spontaneous settlement and for large coffee and livestock estates.

Since the 1960s non-Indian marijuana plantations have steadily displaced Indian farmland; at present approximately 50,000 hectares are under cultivation. This represents sixty percent of the marijuana produced in Colombia and eighty to eighty-five percent of that which Colombians illegally export on the international market, especially to the United States. As new land is daily converted to marijuana production, the Arhuacos, the Kogi, and the Sanka are steadily pushed higher up the slopes beyond the tropical agricultural zones.

In 1974, after several years of intense struggle, the Arhuacos persuaded the government, through the Agrarian Reform Institute of Colombia (INCORA) to declare part of their lands a reservation. But this official recognition has been in name only; much of the boundary area and most of the small amounts of land suitable for agriculture have been taken over by settlers.

The Kogi and the Sanka, on the other hand, have land recognized by the State. Daily, they are being displaced by invaders. Without sufficient land on which to plant their crops and open new plots, they must make maximum use of what little they have. Consequently exhausted soil, diminished crop yields, malnutrition, and vulnerability to diseases such as tuberculosis plague the population.

In addition there is another kind of colonist who ideologically as much as economically is invading the Arhuacos, Kogi, and Sanka — the many official, private, and religious institutions which, with a variety of programs and goals, pretend to "help" the Indians. Their plans and cultural models are rooted in the society of the Colombian majority and not in the Indians' real needs. Programs are often imposed either without

consulting the Indians or against their will. Regarding the Capuchin Mission, to which the government has given control of the official Indian schools, the Arhuacos directed a letter to the Minister of the Interior on 16 March 1980, part of which states that:

For many years the Arhuaco Community has protested before the national government against the presence in our territory of the Capuchin religious order, composed of Spanish missionaries who are ignorant of and despise our culture and traditions. In spite of our repeated petitions and of the government's own Decree 1142 of 1978 (which indicates that educational programs among the Indians are to be developed in cooperation with their communities), deaf ears have been turned to our calls and, thus, the agreement with this mission has been renewed.... Those Capuchin missionaries are the ones who have dedicated themselves to disregarding our religion, our Mamos (religious leaders), our own systems of education and have devoted themselves to dividing us, to setting us up in confrontation not only against ourselves but against the authorities, before whom we are accused of being communists, subversives, and other things.

Repeatedly the Indians have informed the government of the theft of their lands and have demanded that the non-Indians who work in these communities respect their forms of work, their language, their traditions, and their cultural values. In response government bureaucrats, allied with the Capuchin missionaries and with local politicians, have attempted to silence the Indians' just demands and to conceal the serious and obvious problems which affect these communities. They accuse the Indians and their collaborators of being subversives. Libelously the authorities put out extremist pamphlets and pretend the Indians were the authors. This has permitted them to unleash a program of repression, fear, and harassment against the Indians, their traditional authorities, and their collaborators. The Regional Head of Native Affairs, the Arhuaco Council governor, was fired because he would not oppose [the interests of his community].

The Native Affairs Division of the Ministry of the Interior is putting forward for the second time before the National Congress the so-called "Pro-Native Act," a measure which seeks to place all Indian communities under the direct political control of the State and thereby ignore the Indians' right to autonomy and self-determination (See CSN Vol. 3 (3)). This piece of legislation has been rejected by all the Indian communities, many scientific bodies, and even by some government agencies.

Yesid Campos Zornosa Anthropologist Instituto Colombiano de Antropología

THE STRUGGLE FOR INFANT SURVIVAL

It has been a ten year struggle by the Infant Formula Action Coalition to save the lives of babies in Third World countries from the Infant baby formula companies. International support continues for the struggle to stop the multinational corporations: Nestle's, Wyeth, Mead Johnson, Abbot, and others who encourage and promote the use of infant formulas in the place of breastfeeding. The International Baby Food Action Network's study "Infant Formula Promotion, 1980..." documented 331 violations of the recommendations of the World Health Organization and UNICEF. Those violations occurred between January and May, 1980. The violations involve twenty-one different companies acting in thirty-five different countries. Evidence indicates that: Direct consumer advertising continues, promotion (advertising) through health care facilities continues, distribution of promotional samples continues, company personnel continue to work in the health care system, unsuitable products for infants continue to be promoted, the breastfeeding continues to be discouraged through promotion campaigns.

Dr. A.R. El-Awadi, Minister of health of Kuwait, stated before the October 1979 World Health Assembly that:

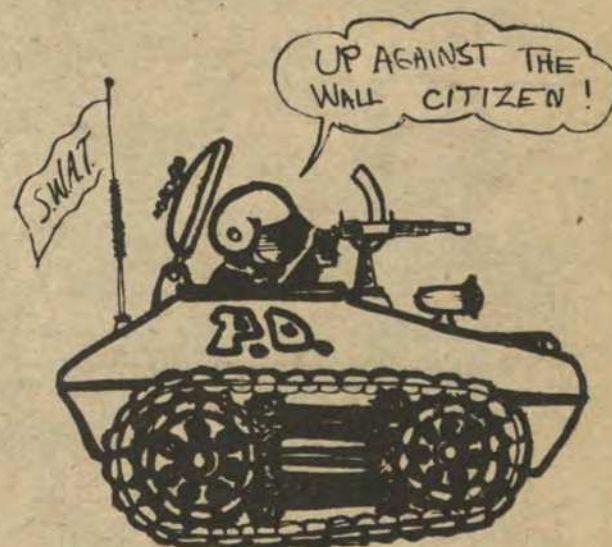
"Breastfeeding, to the developing countries, is much more important than to the developed countries... because here, to bring canned milk to a woman in any small slum in any of the developing countries, you're bringing practically poison for the child.

"First of all you must prevent all kinds of knowledge that is actually misleading. Second, we have to educate ... the way we give it to our children we are just giving them a canned poison for them to be killed."

/ It is important that people write letters, make phone calls and make contributions to support INFANT in their struggle to save babies' lives. For more information and the Fall 1980 INFANT NEWSLETTER write: The Infant Formula Action Coalition, 1701 University Avenue S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414



WELCOME TO REAGAN COUNTRY!!!!!!



SHORT NOTES

NAVAJO WOMEN SUFFERMOST IN RESERVATION EVICTION

NEW YORK (LNS) — A serious increase in illness and death threatens adults, and particularly women, among 6,000 Navajo people due to be relocated from their ancestral homes, according to anthropologist Thayer Scudder of the California Institute of Technology.

"Research that I directed among relocated Navajo Indians in late 1978 and early 1979, indicated that relocation will be especially traumatic among Navajo women of all ages," the world-renowned population relocation expert warned in a letter urging President Carter not to sign a Bill uprooting the Navajo. "It is through them that the land... is passed on to the children. If the land is taken away...many women will suffer terribly because they believe that their children will scatter off the reservation and will lose their Navajo identity."

President Carter ignored both Navajo protests and Scudder's plea and signed the bill into law.

(Thanks to New Women's Times for this information.)

AMAX IN WASHINGTON STATE

The AMAX Corporation is planning the third largest mining operation in the world at Mt. Tolman in cooperation with the Colville Tribal Council. The copper and molybdenum project would involve an open pit mining and milling operation which will leave a pit more than 1000 feet deep, two miles long and one mile wide where now stands 1700 foot Mt. Tolman. The Mt. Tolman Alliance, which is opposing the project, states that there are dangerous health effects which accompany mining of molybdenum. High levels of molybdenum in the water supply is associated with increased incidences of cancer, blood diseases and bloodforming system diseases, high blood pressure, digestive system diseases and birth defects. The Colville Tribe is being enticed into the deal with AMAX by promises of huge amounts of money. Under one method of proposed payment, for example, each tribal member could be allotted more than \$6000.

LACOURSE EDITOR OF MANATABA MESSENGER

Richard La Course, a distinguished Native Journalist, is now editor of the new tribal newspaper of the Colorado River Indian Tribe of Parker Arizona. The newspaper is named The Manataba Messenger, and will be published weekly.

FOUR MANITOBA BANDS SEEK DAMAGES

The Chemahawin, Moose Lake, Grand Rapids and The Pas Bands have taken legal action against the Manitoba Provincial government and Manitoba Hydro seeking compensation for

damages arising from a dam construction project at Grand Rapids which flooded 500,000 acres of land. The Grand Rapids Hydro Project on the Saskatchewan River was completed in 1965. In a press release, Chief Jim Tobacco on behalf of the four bands stated in part: "They have flooded our land and polluted our rivers. They have moved the Chemahawin band from its ancestral home to a barren, rocky place where formerly, independent people cannot find a livelihood..." The four bands also accuse the defendants of failing to keep commitments which were made to the Native people at the time of construction.

FOURTH RUSSELL TRIBUNAL INVESTIGATES GENOCIDE

"We will examine the facts 'in our souls and our consciences' as we say, or, if one prefers, in the full liberty of our spirits."

Jean-paul Sartre

The Fourth Russell Tribunal will take place from November 24 to 30, 1980, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and will focus on the rights of Indians in North, Central and South America. The Foundation Workgroup Indian Project of Amsterdam is preparing the Tribunal in cooperation with hemispheric Indian organizations and with other European and American organizations such as the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Survival International, and the Association for Endangered Peoples. SWIP seeks to raise world consciousness about the crimes and violations of human rights committed against Indian peoples, their cultures, languages and territories. Indian organizations have been drafting cases to present to the Tribunal and will provide evidence and advice during the proceedings.

The Bertrand Russell Tribunal originates from the British philosopher's commitment to the attainment of peace, human rights and social justice. The Russell Foundation supports groups working for the survival of mankind and against the growth of military power in the world. The First Russell Tribunal, held in 1967, made an inquiry into the role of the United States government in Viet Nam; the model for this tribunal was the Nuremberg trials after World War II. The second tribunal was held in 1974 and dealt with repression in South America; the third, held in 1977, concerned work

SETTLEMENT BILL FOR MAINE INDIAN LAND CLAIMS PASSES BOTH HOUSES

An \$81.5 million settlement of Indian land-claims in the State of Maine passed both the House and Senate in September. Opposition to the bill was expected to be stronger in the House than in the Senate, but only Representative Gary Lee, of New York spoke against the bill. Lee, whose district includes the Cayuga Indian claim area, successfully led the opposition to the Cayuga Indian settlement bill. Lee asserted that Indian land claims are a "billion-dollar plague on millions of Americans who pay taxes, own land and engage in commerce. This plague is in large part caused by the failure of the Federal Government to face the reality that procedural legal loopholes are being exploited and causing tremendously unjust enrichment for a few while creating hardship for many".

restrictions on the basis of political beliefs in Germany.

The Fourth Russell Tribunal will bring cases representative of the situation of the situation of the Indians of the Americas to the attention of political, ecclesiastical, and other organizations and attempt to mobilize public opinion on behalf of the rights of Indian peoples. Specifically, the tribunal expects better conditions for the Indians to develop according to their own cultural, political and socio-economic conditions; more help and understanding in their struggle against colonization, exploitation and extermination; more objective information about the situation of the Indians as opposed to the biased image created by commercial films and the mass media; and more attention to the rights of minorities in comparable situations in other countries.

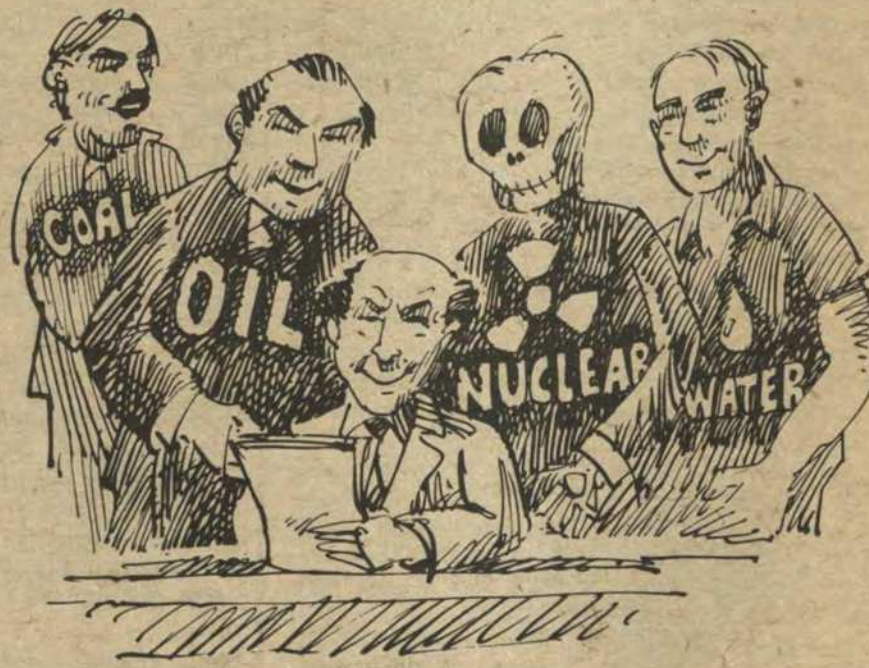
The Tribunal will propose new criteria for international law which can deal with cases of ethnocide; point out ways to change international law with respect to governmental powers to expropriate Indian lands; seek changes in world consciousness about the situation of indigenous peoples; and develop recommendations along the lines of the 1977 conference held in Geneva on "The Discrimination of Indigenous Populations in the Americas." The tribunal will also examine violations of treaty rights, human rights, and rights of sovereignty and self-determination committed by the American governments against the Indian people. It will raise the issue of the U.S. government's energy policy and its disregard for the social consequences of uranium mining on Indian and other populations.

(Information from ArC Bulletin 3.)

Whose Economic Development?



BEFORE



AFTER

SHORT NOTES

Editors' Note: This editorial comes to us from TRIBAL PEOPLES' SURVIVAL, published by the American Indian Environmental Council, P.O. Box 7082, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87104. We invite commentary from other readers on the quality and direction of other reservation newspapers.

NAVAJO TIMES: NOT FOR EVERYONE

Like an ostrich with its head in the sand, so it is that the Navajo Times, prefers not to see what is being one to a segment of the Navajo population. As a result, there is a virtual press blackout of events at Burnham and Red Rock Valley: one community facing total destruction of its land base and the other witnessing one more environmental disaster.

There are people who still innocently believe that the Times is for all Navajo people and wonder why should there be a blackout. And there are those who know that the Times can get its financial strings jerked by a corporate puppet known as the Naajo Tribal Council. Actually, the Navajo Times is a reflection of the state of many Indian newspapers throughout Indian Country: A public relations forum for the people who pretend to be tribal leaders.

This newspaper, Tribal Peoples' Survival, began a year ago last April prior to the Mount Taylor Gathering and it concentrated on the deadly aspects of uranium mining and milling on Indian lands, an issue sadly neglected by those tribal newspapers whose people are directly involved in uranium development.

The Survival is intended to be a source of information about subjects that affect the heart of the Indian people—the destruction of the land and water; why it happens; who is responsible; and how we can prevent further destruction. It fully supports the right of Indian people to live as they choose without interference from a money-hungry tribal council, the chicken-hearted Bureau of Indian Affairs or the cruel manipulations of the corporations.

During the 1970s, a newspaper called Dine Baa-Hani was published that was a delightfully sassy newspaper. It poked fun at those institutions that were supposed to help the Navajo people. It was labeled "radical" by those who were the cause of the jokes and it soon was looked upon as an "underground" publication—as if it was printing material that shouldn't be shared with every member of the family. Unfortunately for the Navajo people, Dine Baa-Hani didn't survive.

Another publication that really served a needed purpose was CNL's Message To The Indians. It provided pertinent information about the Four Corners area that wasn't available in the Navajo Times. But it too didn't survive—certainly not for the lack of talent, heart or information.

Throughout all of Indian Country, Indian newspapers that are gutsy generally don't exist very long. It is a very important educational tool for communities especially in keeping it united. The Survival is an educational publication that is supported by donations to the American Indian Environmental Council.

Official bureaucrats (tribal and federal) will dispute our claim to being an educational document for the people. They can claim it is one-sided and that may be true. If it were not for their cowardness, stupidity and short-sightedness, there would be no need for this type of publication. (Cowards because they won't protest a wrong because they might lose their job; stupid because they don't care; and short-sighted because they can't think beyond the next royalty payment. It is also a condition that has afflicted the majority of the Navajo Tribal Council members.)

If the Navajo Tribal Council allows the planned stripmining of Burnham and continues its callous disregard for Red Rock Valley than it will be no better than Dick Wilson's tribal government in Pine Ridge or Roger Jourdain's at Red Lake in Minnesota.

And the Navajo Times is doing the same thing as the Hopi's Qua-Toqti only it doesn't have the guts to say publically 'Give up your traditional lifestyle for some money! Money which is fast losing its value.'

So be it, but those who care will continue to support this badly needed newspaper for the people who have no where else to turn—not even to their own tribe.

AIM TRIALS IN PORTLAND

The trial of Kamook Banks, Dennis Banks, Kenneth Loud Hawk, Russell Redner and Leonard Peltier which is being held in Portland, Oregon, has been indefinitely postponed and the case has returned to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The five are charged in a five year-old case involving alleged possession of explosives and firearms. The government's case was dismissed four years ago by U.S. District Judge Robert Belloni when the government said it was not ready to proceed without dynamite evidence suppressed earlier by the judge. Last year, the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Belloni's dismissal of the case. A Lawyers Guild trial team is representing all five defendants. The defense has filed a motion to dismiss the pending case on the grounds of government bad faith and vindictive prosecution. U.S. District Judge James Redden, sitting on his first criminal case since his recent appointment, to the judgeship (his last job was Attorney General of Oregon) ruled for the defendant Kamook Banks and against Redner, Loud Hawk and Dennis Banks. The judge, on motion of the government, earlier severed defendant Peltier from the others, allegedly on security risk grounds. Kamook's charges were dropped, according to her attorney Mike Bailey of Portland, because in the second indictment the U.S. added charges that they could have brought five years ago at the first grand jury. The Government has appealed the dismissal of her charges, and the defense has appealed the failure to dismiss charges against the other three. Trial may be as far off as January.

Jach Schwartz, attorney for Leonard Peltier, filed a motion to dismiss charges against his client due to the government's failure to provide Peltier a speedy trial. That motion was entered on September 4, and the government has refused to reply to the motion. The judge has also refused to rule. In the beginning of November the Court is expected to rule, and if the charges are not dropped, Peltier will demand immediate trial in Portland. Schwartz claims that his indictment in 1980 was harassment by the U.S. in an attempt to slander Peltier as his case gains support throughout the world in such fora as Amnesty International and the Russell Tribunal.

NEZ PERCE STRUGGLE MAKING HEADWAY

A lawyers guild team has beaten back the State of Idaho in a case in which fishermen of the Nez Perce Tribe have been arrested, fined, jailed, assaulted and had their fish confiscated by State Police and game wardens enforcing the closure of Rapid River where the Nez Perce have fished for thousands of years. After two days of pretrial motions, the State has requested out-of-court settlement talks. The LG motion which brought this about argued that the regulations on Indian fishing were invalid because the state's conservation regulations are improper. The state is only allowed to regulate treaty Indian fishing for conservation purposes, but it is up to the state to prove that their conservation efforts are effective.

State and tribal leaders will return to Idaho County Court in Grangeville (following negotiations) on November 5. Until then, the court has postponed forty trials of thirty-three people who participated in a fish-in in violation of the state closure of Chinook salmon fishing last Spring. The Nez Perce Tribe sees their forceful adherence to their treaty as the basis for continuing their traditional fishing regardless of state efforts to destroy Indian fishing rights. The strong position of the tribe seems to have beaten back the criminal justice machine in this instance, at least for the time being.

UPDATE ON PETER JAMES ARTICLE

Gary Amendola, attorney for the family of the victim, has filed a Section 1983 Civil Rights suit against the City of Sitka, the Borough, the police officer who shot James, and the Chief of the Sitka Police Department. The suit is now in the U.S. District Court in Juneau, Alaska. Discovery motions have been filed, and no trial date has been set.

GREENPEACE DIRECTOR SUPPORTS TRADITIONAL NATIVE PEOPLES VIEWS

In a speech given in Ottawa, Canada, at the annual federal-provincial wildlife conference, Dr. Patrick Moore of Greenpeace (Canada) told wildlife managers to stop using Indians as scapegoats by accusing them of mistreating Canada's wildlife heritage. "There are Indians who mistreat wildlife in the same way that there are white people who mistreat wildlife," he said, "but the white people wiped out the buffalo and the carrier pigeon and it wasn't the Indians who wiped out all the whales off our coast and it wasn't the Indians who made the acid rain... It's obvious those industrial concerns aren't going to be convinced that wildlife really is a sacred heritage." Moore went on to suggest a bill of rights for wilderness animals to protect them from extinction and called on delegates to bring back the traditional Indian understanding of nature and wildlife.

BLACK PANTHER CLEARED OF FRAME-UP

Former Black Panther Party member Ronald Stevenson, who spent 11 years as a fugitive, has been cleared of a murder charge filed against him in Berkely, California, in 1969. After a five minute hearing, Municipal Judge Dawn Girard dismissed the charge Stevenson had fled his home at the age of seventeen after a shootout in which fellow Panther Ronald Black was killed. Stevenson turned himself in during July after starting a new life in New Jersey as an autoworker and union official. During the years on the run, he married and became a father.



SHORT NOTES

AIM ACTIVIST HELD IN FEDERAL JAIL

PELTIER ASKS OUTSIDE HELP FOR PRISON VISITATION

The following letter can be used as a guide in forming your own letters to Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Harold G. Miller, Warden U.S. Penitentiary, Marion, Ill. J.D. Henderson, regional director, Bureau of prisons, and other political types such as U.S. senators or congresspeople. Also, it may be helpful if celebrities write to the above, as any type of pressure will help.

We are attempting to have my normal visiting status reinstated. At present, I am forced to see my wife and others through a plexiglass partition with a phone for speaking to them. I am not allowed to have any physical contact with anyone who visits me because of this Controlled Visiting Status.

The real reason that this status was placed on me was because the Bureau officials continue to harass me and my family and are attempting to cause as much discomfort and inconvenience as possible. Also, this kind of visiting discourages people on both sides of the glass and is principally done in the hope that eventually no one will visit.

The reasons that I should have my normal visiting privileges reinstated are:

There has never been an exchange of any type of contraband with one of my visitors nor has there ever been the slightest hint of a charge of that kind raised by officials. (The Bureau maintains that I had outside assistance in an escape attempt, but I was absolved of any link with a conspiracy to escape by the U.S. District Court.)

My wife has been approved as a visitor by the Bureau of Prisons and has been passed by an extensive check into her background by the FBI and other police agencies. There is no legal basis to restrict her contact with me.

The Bureau's position is that because of outside help in an escape attempt I have demonstrated that my behavior merits Controlled Visits, but none of my visitors has ever been implicated in any illegal activity with respect to their visiting. There is no basis to deny visiting for this reason.

Many of the major security risks at the Marion Penitentiary receive normal visits and I should be treated no differently from them.



The sanction of Controlled Visits was imposed on me without my being given the opportunity to present evidence in my own behalf as required by federal court decisions. Any sanction imposed by the Institutional Disciplinary Committee requires the minimum due process required by *Wolff v McDonnell*, 418 US 539, 94 S. Ct. 2963, 41 L. ed2d 935, and Controlled Visits were imposed at a committee when I was *in absentia* and is clearly illegal as well as immoral.

In your letters be sure to request that they respond in writing by return mail or the Bureau will simply ignore your position altogether.

Peace and Struggle,
Leonard Peltier
P.O. Box 1000

Marion, Ill. 62959 :Here are the addresses of:
Norman A. Carlson, Director Bureau of Prisons 320 First Street NW Washington, D.C. 20534

James D. Henderson, Regional Director Bureau of Prisons KCI Bank Building 8800 N.W. 112th Kansas City, Missouri 64153

Harold G. Miller, Warden USP Marion P.O. Box 1000 Marion, Ill. 62959

ESKIMOS REACT ANGRILY TO FEDERAL WHALING RESTRICTION REQUEST

The chairman of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission reacted angrily to a Federal Government request that the Eskimos' hunting of bowhead whales be stopped immediately. In a telegram to Interior Under Secretary James Joseph, who had asked the Eskimo Whalers to end their fall subsistence hunt immediately, Chairman Jacob Adams accused the agency of shirking its responsibilities and allowing its policies to be dictated by special interest groups. The Eskimos have exceeded the quota set by the International Whaling Commission, of which the United States is a member. The Eskimos contend that the number of bowheads has been underestimated. They have refused to accept the IWC quota and have set their own much higher quota. Joseph, in his telegram to the Eskimos, said that the Eskimos by exceeding the IWC quota were violating United States Law. He said, "I am deeply concerned about the consequences to the future of your people if the whaling continues this fall".

NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES WIN TAX CASE

The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that the State of North Carolina and Swain County have no authority to levy taxes on Indians living on the Qualla Reservation. The court ruling held that since land of the Qualla Reservation is held in trust by the federal government, there must be permission by Congress before the State or its political subdivisions may tax Indians living on the reservation. North Carolina is reportedly the only state that has held that the state could tax Indians living within the state borders even though those Indians are part of a federally recognized tribe.



Chief Raoni, a leader of the Txukamarae Nation in Brazil. His people went to war recently to protect their lands from Brazilian colonists.

MINING TOWN TRAGEDY

"The flesh just melts away — then the end."

Here are some excerpts from the tragic story of St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, told by Murray Barnard for SW Magazine of Toronto. This is a story of how a slow radio-active killer has robbed 350 children of their fathers.

The children shriek and tag after one another in the crisp air and their bright voices ring from the painted clapboard houses like bird songs. But it causes more torment than joy in the bereaved hearts of the women of St. Lawrence. In this little Newfoundland mining town, more than 350 of the 940 school kids are orphans. Their fathers have died mainly from radiation sickness. They call it the invisible death.

The flesh just melts away. You can watch it go till all that's left is a miserable bag of skin and bones, and then you're done for. Ren Turpin, 52, threw up his skinny hands in emphasis. For 17 years he was a burly driller in the wet underground slopes of the mines in St. Lawrence. Today he sits on a cot in the kitchen of his four room house, a condemned man. His cheeks are bristled and hollow, and beneath a plume of mussed hair, his eyes burn black. On the wall above the cot hangs a framed print of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

"Y'understand, sir, this terrible gas[seeps out of the walls of the mine. You can't see the stuff at all," Turpin smiled thinly. The gas is radon which emits intense alpha radiation.

Small quantities of this radioactive gas breathed in by working miners over a period of years causes radiation

sickness, which takes the form of lung cancer and kills relentlessly. This grim score stands at 48 miners dead of radiation-induced cancer and 25 of silicosis in the past 12 years. And there are more who will die. Jack Fitzpatrick, 45, was one of them. When I first saw him he was in the street gasping for breath, waiting for a car to take him to the edge of town.

Not long after I left St. Lawrence, Jack Fitzpatrick died.

In the next hospital bed lay Edward Clark, 55, once a rugged miner and now a shrunken old man slowly dying. Beneath the defiant white hair, his flesh was drawn and transparent and he dozed fitfully under drugs.

He had already received the last rites of the church and a few days later he died.

Reta Loder, 46, a big woman behind a capacious apron stood in her kitchen frying potatoes for lunch. Her husband Isaac, 48, had died of lung cancer a week before, after 14 months sickness.

In one of the briefs, presented to an inquiry into Newfoundlands compensation board, it gave the figures of 72 miners having died of lung cancer before 1965. In one neighbourhood alone twenty men died in the worst agony.

In the bleak and windswept town, the people talk of little except how the sick are today and who will be next.

The tragedy of St. Lawrence involves every family in the community. There isn't a person in this town of 2,300 who hasn't lost relatives or neighbors to the invisible death. (Yukon Indian News)

The Approaching Food Crisis

by Paula Hammet

We all share the experience of going into the market and feeling outraged at how high food prices are. With each passing week they get higher and higher. But what will happen when you go to the store one day and there is no food at all? The energy crisis has shown us that there is not an unlimited supply of gas and oil to be used with reckless abandon, so we can expect to soon be faced with a food crisis of epic proportions.

As early as 1975, the Los Angeles police department was conducting special training programs, teaching cops how to quell food riots. In 1974, the state of Delaware was considering allowing dog food to be labeled, "fit for human consumption" because for many people, especially the poor and elderly, it was the only food they could afford. But the coming food crisis will not affect just the poor and elderly. Everyone will be hurt. Even the American middle class who have felt like they have been sacrificing by having meat only 4 times a week instead of seven, are getting a small taste of it with inflation raising food prices 18-20% a year.

Why is the food situation reaching such crisis proportions? The reasons are many, but the essence of the crisis is the total abuse of the land. The land has been treated as a commodity, to be ripped open and devastated at the whim of people motivated purely by profit.

Because of this worldwide abuse of the land, raising enough food to support the people of the earth is becoming an impossible task. Millions of people are starving and malnourished throughout the world. It is estimated that by shortly after the year 2000, there will be 2 people on earth for every one there is now. The politics of food will become a central, critical issue in every nation.

Climate will continue to play an increasingly important role in the production of food. Nature changes in unknown ways, and our degradation of the land will have unimaginably bad effects on our weather tomorrow. As stated in *The Weather Conspiracy*: "Modern civilization can inflict damage on a scale and with a speed nothing short of horrifying. The leveling of the rain forests, the overgrazing of the hillsides, the burning of irreplaceable fossil fuels, the racing of jets through the stratosphere are all affecting the weather and environment in a way that threatens basic civilization and survival."

Dust, both natural from volcanos, and man-made from industrialization, also plays an important role in the changing climate by filtering out heat and light. This threat is accentuated by the fact that in China, each arable hectare (approximately 2.5 acres) currently feeds seven people. If the average temperature was to drop 1.8 degrees F., the land's potential yield would plummet to supporting only four people per arable hectare. The monsoon belt winds (the winds that carry the heavy crop-sustaining rains to much of Africa, Asia and India) are believed to be shifting southward. If so, further desertification and major crop failures are to be expected, with mass starvation resulting.

The way food is produced will also have an enormous effect on the availability of food in the future. Agriculture has increasingly become agribusiness, and as multinational corporations have taken over the business of producing food, they have forced hundreds of thousands of people off their lands throughout the world. Instead of farming to meet local needs, most farming today is for export. Family farms are folding at the rate of 2,000 a week. It is estimated that 200,000 to 400,000 farms each year will disappear during the next twenty years, in the United States alone.

With this displacement develops a fragile export economy based on monoculture of crops. You can drive through the Central Valley of California and see thousands of acres of nothing but cotton. In the Philippines, the forests have been logged and replaced by hundreds of hillsides full of pineapple. The effect is the same. The land has been colonized by the

multinational corporations, displacing small scale family farmers and putting the land into cash crops that are then exported, making the land unusable for sustaining the local communities.

Small farmers are finding themselves faced with a situation similar to the displacement of Native people worldwide. As colonists, (be they Puritans on Plymouth Rock or multinationals in Brazil,) move into a region, their first and greatest revolution is the displacement of Native people. As Wendell Berry states in *The Unsettling of America*, the spiritual bankruptcy of the colonists' relationship to the earth is the result of "the coming of people who did not look upon the land as a homeland... Generation after generation, those who intended to remain and prosper where they were have been dispossessed and driven out, or subverted and exploited where they were, by those who were carrying out some version of the search for El Dorado. Time after time, in place after place these conquerors have fragmented and demolished traditional communities... they have always said that what they destroyed was outdated, provincial, and contemptible." As Berry sees clearly, any community which establishes itself on the land sooner or later becomes the "redskins - the designated victims of an utterly ruthless, officially sanctioned and subsidized exploitation." The implications of that statement are as true today as they were four hundred years ago.

Through the development of crop monoculture, agribusiness is setting the stage for an ecological disaster reminiscent of the Irish potato famine of the 1800s, only on a global scale. High yield hybrids are used in the monoculture operations. These hybrids require more water, continuous applications of petroleum based fertilizers and pesticides, and expensive farm equipment. Because of the high chemical dependence of these seeds, they are also less resistant to blight and disease, more susceptible to pest damage and weather factors, and less nutritious. To feed the entire world with the U.S. system of agriculture, almost 80% of the world's annual energy expenditure would be required.

It is not surprising then that most of the agribusiness corporations are owned by multinational energy conglomerates like Exxon, Texaco, and Mobil. They have made it their business to see to it that growing food has become extremely energy-consuming. Michael Perelman, an agricultural economist, has said: "If we are facing an energy crisis (and we are) then our present system of agriculture is clearly irrational. For each unit of energy a Chinese wet farmer expends, he/she gets more than fifty units in return. For each unit of fossil fuel energy we expend, we get 1/20 of a unit in return. On the basis of these figures, Chinese wet farming is more than 1,000 times more effective as our own systems... If we take into account all sources of energy input into a mechanized farm, Chinese wet rice farming is 6,000 times more efficient."

With oil reserves expected to last only another 35 years at present consumption rates, it is indeed foolhardy to continue the expansion of energy-consuming agriculture. If we are unable to adequately feed the world's population now, it will be virtually impossible to do it with the present systems once the fossil fuels are depleted.

While the depletion of fossil fuels is still somewhat in the future, the depletion of the soils has already reached disastrous proportions. Millions of tons of top soil are lost each year due to careless farming, overuse of tillage and chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and general erosion. Industrialization and urbanization are also displacing farmers as the suburbs sprawl out into what was once productive rural farmland.

Equally important to the production of food is the alarming trend in seed production which is rapidly resulting in the seeds being patented, hybridized and controlled by a few multinationals. This [patenting] of seeds will mean the disappearance of at least 2000 varieties of vegetable seeds. The Natural Resources Defense Council reports that "unless we preserve the ancestral strains of highly refined (and unhybridized) food crops we have developed, we will be increasingly



"WHY IS THE FOOD SITUATION REACHING SUCH CRISIS PROPORTIONS? THE REASONS ARE MANY, BUT THE ESSENCE OF THE CRISIS IS THE TOTAL ABUSE OF THE LAND. THE LAND HAS BEEN TREATED AS A COMMODITY, TO BE RIPPED OPEN AND DEVASTATED AT THE WHIM OF PEOPLE MOTIVATED PURELY BY PROFIT."

vulnerable to new strains of pests or blights which can sweep through monoculture like devastating firestorms... The loss of genetic diversity in agriculture has already become one of the world's least recognized major problems." What happens when there are no more of the heritage seeds left to start over again with. The people had better start preparing themselves for the possibility of widespread famine. The Los Angeles Police Department may yet get a chance to put to use their food riot training.

The availability of water is also an essential factor in the availability of arable cropland. In the arid western states, this is an especially important factor. As Albuquerque, Tucson and Phoenix continue to grow, their demand for water escalates, with water being diverted from agricultural efforts to meet the needs of the cities that are outgrowing their limits. Efforts by Native nations in the Southwest to retain their water guaranteed them by the Winters Doctrine are severely threatened by the overallocation to the cities. Currently five times as much water is being taken out of the earth in the Southwest than is being replaced by nature.

If the MX missile project is built on Western Shoshone land, as the air force is currently attempting, millions of acres of cattle grazing land will be affected. Soil and water holding capability of the land will be appreciably altered. Construction and operation of the MX will require 12% of the perennial yield (that which can be replenished by precipitation) or approximately 122 billion gallons, enough to supply the city of Reno (72,000 people) with enough water for seven years. With all that water potentially being diverted to the MX, the ability of the arid land to support cattle grazing operations will be severely affected.

As if the production of food wasn't bad enough, the distribution of food in the U.S. is even worse. Unlike many other countries, the United States depends on foods that are highly processed, and several stages removed from their natural state. The more processed the food, the more "middlemen" are involved, raising prices. Often times when food prices rise, the farmers are

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Native Rights In The New World

A GLANCE AT HISTORY

Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger

To understand native claims in Canada today you have to understand something about the history of the New World. You have to go back to the era of the Spanish Conquest, to the days of Bartolome de las Casas, God's angry man of the sixteenth century.

Spanish armies had completed the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, the year that Columbus sailed with a commission from Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1522 Cortez had conquered Mexico. In 1532 Pizarro had conquered Peru. By the middle of the sixteenth century Spain was the most powerful nation in Europe; Charles V, its greatest monarch, was Holy Roman Emperor as well as King of Spain. Spanish galleons carried the gold and silver from the overseas empire of New Spain to Europe.

Columbus might have thought at first that he had reached India, but the Spanish soon realized that they had discovered a new world, one already inhabited by another race speaking a language of its own, with its own culture and its own civilization.

In Spain, lawyers and clerics struggled with the questions of law and morals that this epochal discovery presented. By what right did the Europeans conquer these people, take their land, and subjugate them? These questions did not concern the conquistadores, but they did concern the church. No one suggests that the church as a whole played an admirable part in the conquest of New Spain; the church's complicity in the killing of the Indian population of the West Indies and in the slaughter of Indians in Mexico and Peru (where it sanctioned the execution of Atahualpa) is well known. The whole of the church did not speak out against the treatment of the Indians, but some clerics did.

The man who protested most of all - who singlehandedly placed these questions on the intellectual agenda in Spain - was Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas, a man who had renounced his *encomienda* and devoted his life thereafter to vindicating the rights of the Indians.

There were two views: on the one hand, the Spanish jurist Juan Gines de Sepulveda, the greatest Aristotelian philosopher of the day, relied upon the doctrine propounded by Aristotle in *Politics*: some races are inferior to others, some men are born to slavery. Sepulveda reasoned that the Europeans, a superior race, were justified in subjugating the Indians, an inferior race. Las Casas, on the other hand, argued that all men are endowed with natural rights, that the Europeans had no right to enslave the Indians, and that the peoples of the Americas had a right to liberty.

Las Casas persuaded the Council of the Indies (the highest board in Spain on Indian Affairs) that no new expeditions to the New World should be licensed without the express permission of the king and the council until the legal, religious, and moral issues raised by Las Casas could be resolved. On 16 April 1550 King Ferdinand ordered the suspension of conquests in the New World and he directed a junta of theologians, jurists, and learned men - fourteen in all - to assemble in Valladolid to consider the arguments. Lewis Hanke, the dean of Las Casas scholars, wrote:

For the first, and doubtless for the last, time a colonizing nation organized a formal enquiry into the justice of the methods used to extend its empire.

Although the question of doctrine that agitated the church was whether it was lawful for the king to wage war on the Indians before preaching the faith to them, the point on which the king sought advice from the junta was: "How can conquests, discoveries, and settlements be made to accord with justice and reason?" Sepulveda advanced the argument that the Indians

...require, by their own nature and in their own interests, to be placed under the authority of civilized and virtuous princes or nations, so that they may learn, from the might, wisdom, and law of their conquerors, to

practise better morals, worthier customs and a more civilized way of life...

Compare then those blessings enjoyed by Spaniards of prudence, genius, magnanimity, temperance, humanity, and religion with those of the homunculi (little men) in whom you will scarcely find even vestiges of humanity, who not only possess no science but who also lack letters and preserve no monument of their history except certain vague and obscure reminiscences of some things in certain paintings. Neither do they have written laws, but barbaric institutions and customs. They do not even have private property...

The bringing of iron alone compensates for all the gold and silver taken from America. To the immensely valuable iron may be added other Spanish contributions such as wheat, barley, other cereals and vegetables, horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, and an infinite variety of trees. Any one of these greatly exceeds the usefulness the barbarians derived from gold and silver taken by the Spaniards. All these blessings are in addition to writing, books, culture, excellent laws, and that one supreme benefit which is worth more than all others combined: the Christian religion.

Sepulveda concluded:

Those who try to prevent Spanish expeditions from bringing all these advantages to the Indians are not favouring them, as they like to believe, but are really... depriving the Indian of many excellent products and instruments without which they will be greatly retarded in their development.

NO ONE CAN BE UNAWARE OF THE POVERTY, VIOLENCE, AND DEGRADATION THAT DISFIGURE LIFE IN MANY NATIVE COMMUNITIES. THE PROBLEMS HAVE NOT GONE AWAY; IF ANYTHING, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AGGRAVATED. THE PENETRATION OF INDUSTRY HAS RESULTED IN INCREASED VIOLENCE, SOCIAL DISARRAY, AND EVEN INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT. WHY? BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS OF NATIVE PEOPLE ARE NOT SIMPLY PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, BUT OF A PEOPLE TRYING DESPERATELY TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURAL IDENTITY.

Las Casas's views were already well known. He regarded the Indians as people with an evolved culture, people with their own social, economic, and religious institutions. In fact, he had been instrumental in securing the passage of the New Laws of 1542 abolishing the *encomienda* system (the outcry from the colonists had precluded the enforcement of the laws, and they had been revoked before the disputants met in Valladolid).

According to Las Casas, the Indians were rational beings, fit to be compared to the Greeks and Romans. Moreover, as recounted by Hanke, Las Casas argued that the Indians were

...superior to the ancient peoples in rearing and educating their children. Their marriage arrangements are reasonable and conform to natural law and the law of nations. Indian women are devout workers, even labouring with their hands if necessary to comply fully with divine law, a trait which Las Casas feels many Spanish matrons might well adopt. Las Casas is not intimidated by the authority of the ancient world, and he maintains that the temples in Yucatan are not less worthy of admiration than the pyramids, this anticipating the judgement of twentieth-century

archaeologists.

He discussed the Indian economy, architecture, and religion, and sought to demonstrate that Indian culture, customs and institutions deserved respect on their own terms. "All the peoples of the world are men," he declared.

Sepulveda and Las Casas addressed the junta alternately. After months of debate the junta adjourned to consider what advice to give to the king, but it never did reach a decision. Soon expeditions to the New World were resumed, and events overtook the native peoples of the New World.

The great debate at Valladolid ended in 1551; yet it moves us still today. I think that is because our own history goes back to that earliest encounter between the Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. The consequences of that first encounter, which ramified throughout our history, are with us still today. Here, in what is now Canada, it was an encounter first between the French and the Native people, and later between the British and the native people. It was often a brutal confrontation: the Beothuk were exterminated, the Hurons overwhelmed, the Cree displaced, and the Salish dispossessed.

But those were the bad old days, we plead, and those days have been replaced by the welfare state. For many years now our view has been that the native "problem" can be solved by education and by industry. With schooling and vocational training, native people will be able to hold down any job. There will be, if necessary, affirmative action to secure them a place in the labour market. Employers will be encouraged, if need be required, to employ native people. In this way the "problem" will be solved.

No one can be unaware of the poverty, violence, and degradation that disfigure life in many native communities. The problems have not gone away; if anything, they appear to have been aggravated. The penetration of industry has resulted in increased violence, social disarray, and even increased unemployment. Why? Because the problems of native people are not simply problems of poverty, but of a people trying desperately to preserve their cultural identity. The white presence - from the missions and the fur trade to the advent of industry and the proliferation of government institutions - represented, and continues to represent, a domination of native society. There is an intrinsic relationship between this domination and the cluster of social pathologies and economic difficulties that the native people have experienced.

We have pursued policies designed to suppress native languages, culture, and economy. Our attitude has been founded on the belief that the native economy, indeed native society, is moribund, that native "culture" consists of crafts and carvings, dances, and drinking, and is at best a colourful reminder of the past, a pathetic and diminishing remnant of what existed long ago.

Hugh Brody, in his evidence to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, said:

(We regard) the native person (as) at the very edge of, or just beyond, the worlds of culture. Insofar as he is beyond the frontier and stays outside the economy and society that the frontier is seeking to advance, he remains a part of nature...Peoples in that condition do not know what is best for them (they cannot understand progress) and can only learn by acquiring religion, schooling, housing, money, modern conveniences, jobs. This picture of the native beyond culture, beyond the frontier, suggest that he had no real religion, no effective schooling, no proper houses, still less conveniences, money or jobs. As these are supposed to be the very hallmarks of culture, of civilization, and as they are the indices by which we measure progress, then if people do not have them, and do not get them, they cannot progress.

Man puts his unique stamp on the world around him. His values, ideas, language, and institutions exhibit his understanding of himself and his world. These things are

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his culture. Any people seek to ensure that these things are transmitted from one generation to another, to ensure a continuity of the beliefs and knowledge that a people hold in common. We have sought to erase the collective memory of the native people - their history, language, religion and philosophy - and to replace it with our own.

When the inquiry visited Paulatuk, N.W.T. in 1976, Abe Ruben explained:

This thing of shutting a person off, shutting an Inuit off from any expression that was related to his own culture...didn't only stay in hostels. It went into schools. It went into just everything that you tried to do in living in a town. You were more or less told that you couldn't express yourself as an Inuit and you had to adopt a totally different life-style. What the hostels (and schools) were put there for was to make stereotype images of native people, setting them up or educating them where they would be able to fit into the mainstream of Canadian society...A lot of these students couldn't cope with being this southern image of a second-class white person and going home in the summertime and trying to cope with going back to their parents or their villages and trying to live as Inuit...They would get home and couldn't relate to their parents. They couldn't speak the language anymore and when they got back to the larger town, say in Inuvik, they couldn't fare any better there. They couldn't cope with just being half people.

In Fort Good Hope, N.W.T., Steve Kakfwi, speaking for the N.W.T. Indian Brotherhood, told the inquiry about the Dene view of formal education in the North:

The Dene allowed the government to educate their young when schools were first built in the North. The Dene believed the government could take care of their interests and that they knew what was best for them. Then a few years ago, people started to realize that something was wrong. There developed a gap between the young and the old. The elders had much difficulty in relating to the young. Many of the young lost their language, their values and views, which they had learned from their elders. What the elders realized was that what was happening to their young in school was not exactly what they wanted. The government was literally stealing young people from their families. They saw that if the situation remained unchanged, they as a people, would be destroyed in a relatively short time...

All people have a desire for continuity of themselves in the future. That is why people have families, so they can pass on to their children their values and their own way of relating to the world, so that their children can continue as they had before them. No human being would allow anyone to suggest that they are worthless, that they have no right to insist on the continuity of themselves in the future, no values worth passing on to others for the future. No people would knowingly give away their right to educate their children to someone else of whom they have no understanding, except where people have been led to believe they do not have such rights.

The remarkable thing is that the drive to assimilate native people, whether by draconian or liberal measures, has never succeeded. The native people have clung to their own beliefs, their own ideas of themselves, of who they are and where they came from.

The great debate at Valladolid has been rejoined in Canada. The arguments that Sepulveda and Las Casas addressed to the junta in 1550 and 1551 are before us still today. How far has the debate progressed since 1550? Do we really recognize the place of native history and of native culture? I wonder. There is a tendency to believe that nothing of any consequence occurred on this continent before 1492. In 1975 in Fort McPherson, N.W.T., Richard Nerysoo, 24, spoke to the inquiry:

When I went to school in Fort McPherson I can remember being taught that the Indians were savages. We were violent, cruel and uncivilized. I remember reading history books that glorified the white man who slaughtered whole nations of Indian people. No one called the white man savages, they were heroes who

explored new horizons or conquered new frontiers...That kind of thinking is still going on today...The federal government has told the McPherson people that they want to create a national historic site here. They propose to put up a plaque telling some of the important history of this area. As you know, my people have lived here in this area for thousands of years and there are many events that are worthy of recognition. There are many Indian heroes and many examples of courage and dedication to the people. We have a rich and proud history.

But what events does the federal government consider history? Let me read you the text that they propose for the plaque. It is in both English and French, but I will read the English...

"In 1840 John Bell of the Hudson's Bay Company built the first Fort McPherson...it was for over fifty years the principal trading post in the Mackenzie Delta region and, after 1860, a centre of missionary activity. In 1903 Inspector Charles Constantine established the first R.N.W.M.P. post in the Western Arctic here. In the winter of 1898-1899 a number of overlanders tried to use Fort McPherson as a base to reach the Klondike."

Where are we mentioned on this plaque? Where is the mention of any of our history? The history of the Peel River people did not begin in 1840. We have been here for a long, long time before that, yet we get no mention. Does the federal government not consider us to be human too? Do they think we don't make history?...The date on this proposed text...is July 3, 1975 - not 1875, but 1975, today. Our history and culture has been ignored and shoved aside.



ALL PEOPLE HAVE A DESIRE FOR CONTINUITY OF THEMSELVES IN THE FUTURE. THAT IS WHY PEOPLE HAVE FAMILIES, SO THEY CAN PASS ON TO THEIR CHILDREN THEIR VALUES AND THEIR OWN WAY OF RELATING TO THE WORLD, SO THAT THEIR CHILDREN CAN CONTINUE AS THEY HAD BEFORE THEM. NO HUMAN BEING WOULD ALLOW ANYONE TO SUGGEST THAT THEY ARE WORTHLESS, THAT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO INSIST ON THE CONTINUITY OF THEMSELVES IN THE FUTURE, NO VALUES WORTH PASSING ON TO OTHERS FOR THE FUTURE. NO PEOPLE WOULD KNOWINGLY GIVE AWAY THEIR RIGHT TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN TO SOMEONE ELSE OF WHOM THEY HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING, EXCEPT WHERE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THEY DO NOT HAVE SUCH RIGHTS.

It comes down to our attitude towards native culture. That was what Las Casas believed. And our attitude, whether we have sought to preserve native culture or to eradicate it, has been a patronizing one. Those on both sides of the argument have rejected all along the notion that native culture is viable in the contemporary context. Many believe that native culture has no place in an urban, industrial society. This is the crux; for native people insist that their culture is still a vital force in their lives....

Many people are inclined to view that extension of the commercial and industrial system as the very definition of progress; accordingly they regard native societies as poor and acutely disadvantaged. It is not a long step from there to dismiss native culture as having no place in the modern world. Then there are those who see the aboriginal past of native people as a time of happiness and social cohesion, if not necessarily of economic prosperity. They wish to see native people protected in a kind of living folk museum. These two ideas, the idea of Progress and the idea of the Noble Savage, are products of the western imagination.

In *The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes Toward North American Natives*, J.E. Chamberlin wrote:

What was done becomes clear enough. What people thought that they were doing is much less clear, but often much more important. The attitudes toward the Indian and "the Indian problem" of generations of explorers, traders, missionaries, settlers, military personnel and government administrators are as critical as the actions which these attitudes precipitated. The idea of the noble savage and the idea of progress together conspired to create a very confused and ambivalent response to the native, combined as it was with personal and national ambitions and dreams.

Both attitudes assume that native culture is static and unchanging and that the native people are locked into the past. Such an assumption becomes self-fulfilling; by not allowing native people the means to deal with their present problems on their own terms, their culture does in fact tend to become degraded and static.

The culture and values of native people amount to more than crafts and carvings. These values - their tradition of decision-making by consensus; their respect for the wisdom of their elders; their concept of the extended family; their belief in a special relationship with the land; their regard for the environment; and their willingness to share - persist in one form or another within their own culture, even though they have been under unremitting pressure to abandon them.

We have sought to make over these people in our own image, but this pronounced, consistent, and well-intentioned effort at assimilation has failed. The native economy refuses to die. The Indian, the Inuit, and the Metis survive, determined to be themselves. In the past, their refusal to be assimilated has usually been passive, even covert. Today it is plain and unmistakable, a fact of life that cannot be ignored....

Native people claim a special status under the Constitution. But remember that they have always had special status. Indian treaties, Indian reserves, and the Indian Act are all special institutions devised by us for native people. Now they seek to devise a future of their own fashioning. Native self-determination is the contemporary expression of special status.

The Fathers of Confederation provided in the Constitution that native people should come under the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of Parliament. Why should the native people of Canada be given special consideration? No such provision has been offered to the Ukrainians, the Swedes, the Italians, or any other race, ethnic group, or nationality. The answer is simple enough: the native people did not immigrate to Canada as individuals or families expecting to assimilate. Immigrants chose to come and to submit to the Canadian polity; their choices were individual choices. The Indians and the Inuit were already here, and had their own languages, cultures, and histories before the arrival of the French or English. They are the original peoples of Canada.

This has been acknowledged in Quebec. In July 1977 M. Camille Laurin (Ministère d'Etat au Développement

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Culture) spoke of a special place under the law for native people in Quebec:

The language of the Quebec people, taken as a whole as a collective being, has been French since its origins, which does not exclude the existence or perpetuation of numerous mother tongues in the private life and the activities of specific ethnic groups. The Amerindians and Inuit are the only ones who, in some respects, can consider themselves as peoples distinct from the Quebec whole and, as a result, demand a special juridical recognition.

It is all too easy for us to misjudge the collective will of the native people of Canada to survive as a people. In the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*, the government said:

Aboriginal claims to land...are so general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy except through a policy and program that will end injustice to Indians as members of the Canadian community.

Prime Minister Trudeau, in Vancouver on 8 August 1969, was emphatic:

Our answer is no. We can't recognize aboriginal rights because no society can be built on historical 'might have beens'.

In saying this the prime minister spoke for all of us; yet the policy of the government was overthrown by the vehemence of the native peoples' reaction. The belief that their future lay in the assertion of their own common identity and the defence of their own common interests proved stronger than any of us had realized. This led to the acknowledgement by the government in 1973 of its obligation to settle native claims....

The settlement process will not succeed unless there is

a change of attitude as well as a change of policy. We shall have to accept that a settlement of native claims will be a beginning, not an end. We should realize that a settlement will not be merely a matter of providing land and money; it ought to offer the native people a range of opportunities: the strengthening of the hunting, fishing, and trapping economy where that is appropriate; development of the local logging and lumbering industry; and development of the fishing industry and of recreation and conservation. I urged in my report that priority be given to local renewable resource activities in the North - not because I feel that such activities are universally desirable, but because they are on a scale appropriate to many native communities. They are activities that local people can undertake, that are amenable to local management and control, and that are related to traditional values. But that need not exclude access to the large economy where large-scale technology predominates.

You may say that this is all very well, it may be that in the North and in frontier areas throughout Canada native people can strengthen their society and their economy, but many native people are living in an urban, industrial society and for them there can be no return to the past. This is the point. Native people do not wish to return to the past. They do not wish to be the objects of mere sentimentality. They wish to ensure that their culture can continue to grow and change - in directions they choose for themselves.

Native claims are founded on something as important to the urban native as it is to the rural native. Their determination to remain distinct peoples is based on their conviction that individual identity depends on collective identity. Man is a social animal. He can define himself only by knowing who his people are. This applies to all of us. But a search for one's identity, one's people, one's homeland, acquires a compelling dimension among indigenous minorities, the peoples of the "Fourth World." ...

It is my conviction that in working out a settlement of native claims, if we try to force native social and economic development into moulds that we have cast, the whole process will be a failure. No governmental ukase [directive-ed.] will settle the matter once and for all; no tidy, bureaucratic chart will be of any use unless it takes into account the determination of native people to remain Indian, Inuit, or Metis. That is why native people must have distinct social, economic, and political institutions. At the same time they must have access to the social, economic and political institutions of the dominant society....

The great strength of our country is its diversity. Our Constitution has always recognized that we are a plural, not a monolithic society. In 1867 we rejected Lord Durham's ideal of a monolithic state and a monolithic British culture. We have tried to remain true to an ideal of tolerance and diversity. Thus the settlement of native claims is a uniquely Canadian task. In preparing for this task, it is worth reminding ourselves of what Claude Lévi-Strauss said, in *Tristes Tropiques*, when discussing "...the confrontation between the Old World and the New."

Enthusiastic partisans of the idea of progress are in danger of failing to recognize - because they set so little store by them - the immense riches accumulated by the human race on either side of the narrow furrow on which they keep their eyes fixed; by underrating the achievements of the past, they devalue all those which still remain to be accomplished.

Excerpts from Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger's address to the Canadian Ethnology Society, Banff, Alberta, 24 February, 1979.

Northern Perspectives, Volume VII, number four, 1979

FOOD CRISIS from page 19

For much of the world, "food" essentially means cereal grains - wheat, maize, rice, barley, oats, rye, corn, etc. Half of all the grain grown in America goes to feed livestock. To produce one pound of meat takes sixteen pounds of grain. Frances Moore Lappe in *Food First* found that "the amount of humanly edible protein fed to American livestock and not returned for human consumption approaches the whole world's protein deficit."



The rain forests and equatorial jungles of Asia, Africa and South America are being chopped down at alarming rates. In Brazil the land is being turned into grazing land so that cattle can be raised and sent back to the U.S. as hamburgers at fast food outlets. It has been suggested that if Americans want to eat steak, the price should reflect the fact that they are consuming the equivalent of thirteen Asians' daily diet - sixteen pounds of grain.

The folly of expecting oranges and watermelons in the middle of winter is becoming crystal clear, while the dependency of the cities on having all their necessities of life trucked in is frightening. Food supplies in New York City must be replenished every three days!

The American people have overextended their lifestyles to such an extent that the breaking point is rapidly approaching. *The Weather Conspiracy* poses the unthinkable question: how much are people willing to reduce their standard of living in order to feed others? Will they be willing to stop using their air conditioners if the energy so released would feed another 400,000 people? Or will they prefer to stay cool and let people starve?

We must begin to understand the global implications

of these overextended lifestyles. We can see that the multinational conglomerates, which falsely portray such strength, are indeed extremely vulnerable. The industrialization of agriculture has, with little understanding of the natural ways of life, altered the entire ecosystem of the earth. The Earth must and will react.

It is against this scenario of gloom that people must prepare themselves for the coming hard times. Self-sufficiency becomes more than just a buzz word. It becomes a crucial reality, essential for survival. As in other times of depression and meager existence, the people closest to the land will have the knowledge to survive. Traditional Native people, with strong historical and cultural traditions of self-reliance, may be the people who can best survive these hard times, rebuilding a better life based on the old ways, the natural laws of life.

This does not mean that by growing your own meat and potatoes you can survive an ecological holocaust. Hard times are well on their way, and our prospects for survival are at stake.

We must carefully consider our alternatives. We can party away our lives, forging ahead with reckless abandon, or we can carefully consider the possibility of survival for our children and the future generations. We must begin heading down the avenue of self-reliance. We must reevaluate our priorities, look to our community resources, and begin learning to reorganize our lives to include self-sufficiency activities. Many Native communities are turning to the elders for information on the basic skills of self-sufficiency and survival and are reexamining their original instructions for the care of our Mother Earth. Other communities are fighting to save what remains of their traditional bladders. But out of a \$105 increase in food prices in 1975, only \$1.00 went to the farmers; \$104 went to various companies that transport, process, wholesale, and retail the food we eat. The crowning blow is that most of these various companies are, in fact, one and the same. The same company that sells you the bread also grows the grain, mills the grain, bakes the bread, makes the plastic that packages the bread, and trucks the bread to the stores. In some cases, the same company also makes the fertilizers, pesticides, preservatives and additives that poison the food.

This corporate control of the food industry affects the availability of food in a very real way. The corporations have the power to decide what will be produced, what methods of production will be used, whether or not new firms will be allowed to enter the field, the quality of the finished food product, and how much it will cost. This control is very clear in rural areas or on reservations where there may be only one store within fifty miles. That store essentially dictates what the people, unless they grow their own food, will eat. The WIC (Well Infant Clinic) program, the feds' answer to the nutrition needs of women and infants, accentuates this power over what we eat by stating brand names of cereals and infant formulas that are eligible foods. Sugar-coated Kaboom and Similac can hardly be called nutritious, yet both are recommended foods under this program.

Corporate control takes yet another guise when it looks like prices will be low because supply exceeds demand. Thousands of acres of land can be pulled out of production with the government paying farmers *not* to grow crops. In 1970, more tax money was paid to farmers not to grow food than was paid out in all federal, state and local welfare combined. In 1972, farmers were paid not to grow grain on 62 million acres, while only 47 million acres of wheat were harvested. Which brings us [to another important question: how is the food we grow used.

economies and food sources. For example, in the Northwest, Native people are waging battles to protect their salmon resources from destruction from logging, dams, oil drilling, acid rains, nuke plants and the like, knowing that if the salmon are killed off, the ways of the people are not far from total extinction. People of the Earth will suffer greatest the effects of industrialization, agribusiness, and mineral extraction. But Native peoples, peoples who are knowledgeable and conscious of the natural ways of the Earth, also stand the best chance of surviving a food and energy crisis of the proportions we will see in the coming years. It will not be easy; self-sufficiency is a full-time job. By preparing now, by becoming less dependent on what's available at the local store, at least we may have a chance. We may not be wealthy monetarily, but we can be rich in the things that we can share with our people. In the coming food crisis, with much care and nurturing, that wealth may be the only way to sustain us.

MIKE MYERS — Excerpts From An Interview

Many people walk about the world today still believing or still thinking that Native People in North America in the Twentieth Century live or should live exactly like the stories say they should live back in 19th Century, 18th Century, etc. It's not been an unrare thing at all that people visiting us, even American people, are surprised that we don't live in tents, that we don't carry on a hunting or gathering culture, that many people are in suburban style housing, and that many of our people speak a very fluent English. Instead of considering that, what should come to people's minds is: what are the processes which have moved native people from that particular life-style to the life-style they now find themselves in? Because what has happened to us in North America is not a phenomenon or a situation that is unique to us. It has occurred throughout the world; it has occurred what seems to me a very, very long time in history.

It seems it's a process that has been set in people's minds to make them think that it is a natural process, that's the way God intended it, that's the way God works his mystery here on earth, that some people's culture, language and way of life get irradiated, while other cultures, languages and ways of life rise to superiority over other peoples. The phenomenon that we face here is particularly of Western civilization which comes out of a very long history of constantly doing this to Natural World peoples. The West is a city-based culture like China is and many other cultures are. And as a city-based culture it has to extract from the natural environment and from the natural peoples who live in that environment for its survival. It must set up a condition in its own mind that puts value on and puts a graduated scale of life in place on the earth. That scale is used to justify say the irradiation of the buffalo, the irradiation of passenger pigeons, the killing off of the elk, the killing off of numerous fishes, bugs, snakes and other things. The same rationale that makes the natural world and inanimate object that is up for exploitation and up for grabs in terms of who wants to put value on it, is also applied to whatever Natural World Peoples may live in that environment. I myself am not at all convinced that the general population in America sees Native Peoples as human beings at all. I'm of the mind that the general population of America, the WASP culture, continues to perceive Native people as they do rocks or trees or rivers that are exploitable, that we're a freak of nature, that other Third World people across the world are also freaks of nature and have no problem eradicating those peoples when it is perceived by the so-called civilized that these peoples sit in the way of development, of progress.

When the Pilgrims first started calling us red-skins back in the 1600's they called us red-skins because they fervently believed that we were the children of the Devil. And in Christian mythology, the devil is a red character who runs around in the woods, lives in the woods and does all kinds of what they consider to be terrible things. In arriving on the Eastern shores and being greeted by an immense forest and finding Native people living in those forests, and not performing work in the sense they understood work, and not organizing society the way they understood about organizing society, they then automatically perceived our ancestors as children of the devil and gave us the name red-skin. But the use of the word red-skin and what it does to a person's mind, of being able to turn a human being from being real into being unreal so you can justify what you do to them, kill them, exterminate them, burn them out . . . is the same process that was employed in Vietnam by calling the Vietnamese people gooks or slopes. The same process applied in Germany, by calling the German people krauts. The same process applied against black people or hispanic people by using the words nigger or spicks. It's a process that is used over and over to set up in the psychology of the oppressor a ready ability in his mind for being able to exploit, kill, destroy those other peoples. And until oppressive cultures, until oppressive city-based cultures, come to grips with the psychology of what they are, how they have lost their own humanity, then the struggle that we have going on at



Akwesasne today will be going on until we all pass from the earth.

We are not a rare people. We understand very clearly who we are. We do not align ourselves with any Western political thought, because we also understand that we are the inspiration of the current Western political thought, both in the co-called democracies that exist and in the Socialist states. That it is from us that Marx and Engels got their ideas of classless society. That it is from us that Franklin, Jefferson, Rousseau and many others got their ideas of what the freedom of man could be. But as we look about the earth, and as we said in Geneva in 1977, we feel that the people we have inspired have blown it. Because they kept out a very, very essential element, or they refused to look at it. That being that the humans are family with all other living things on the face of the earth. And until the West and other city-based cultures, socialist, democratic, fascist, or whatever, come to grips with the fact that as human beings they are the relatives of all other living things, that they are the least important on the face of the earth, then the conflicts and struggles between Natural World, Natural World Peoples and Technological World Peoples will continue on until either one of the two completely vanishes from the face of the earth.

In the 1960's there re-emerged a critical consciousness for many Native peoples throughout the Western hemisphere. We knew and we felt that something was not right. We looked about us and our people were dying off from these strange diseases like sugar diabetes, kidney failures, heart ailments, respiratory diseases. They were being killed off in auto accidents when they were drunk, they were killing each other when they were drunk, or when they were on dope or something. And that began a search back in the 60's on two levels. We knew that there was a political intervention in our life that was causing disharmony, and we could quickly identify who that was: it was the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it was the Department of Indian Affairs. But what has taken us longer to identify is the nature and the full impact of our co-existence with the Western world. The struggle today at Akwesasne starts at both levels. We have implanted in our lands an elective process of government that was put here by the state of New York. It has existed here and there has been resistance to it here since 1890. In 1948 the people held a referendum and they threw it out. And one year later New York State occupied this territory with State police, held an election and brought it back.

On the Canadian side, the Canadian government assassinated a traditional Chief and imprisoned the rest in order to bring the elective system to that area. That is not detached history for us. That is part of a continuum.

It is just as much a part of a continuum as it is in the minds of the Iranian people that in 1953 the CIA put the Shah in power. And it's a shock to the American people to think that the Iranians see a connection with the American people in 1980, or the American government in 1980 and what happened in 1953. It's a shock because Western World people are been programmed by their educational systems, their work systems, the political systems, to think in fragmented patterns, to think in specific time frames that relate only to the individual and not in terms of the continuum of the culture or the continuum of the nation that they are a part of. They do not see that they have a continuous responsibility to other peoples in the world, even to themselves or even to their future generations or to their past generations. So that an assassination of a Chief in 1890 is just as alive in our mind in 1980 as it was then. That the State police occupation of the territory of Akwesasne in 1949 is just as alive today in our minds as it was then. The struggle that started in May 1979 is part of that continuum, because the other people who sit in the elective system, they not only just sit there in a political difference to their traditions, but they sit there in a mental and spiritual difference to their traditions. They can look about the land and look at trees and waters and lands in exploitable terms. They can see a huge highway running through here with no problem. They can see factories built on these lands. They can see the cutting down of the forest that remains here. Because they can look at the world in this way they introduce and they bring programs into this territory that will support and perpetuate that vision.

And one of the programs that they brought in is the Young Adult Conservation Corps. They are using both non-Indian and Indian people to cut a swath of land through the forests that are on these lands on which they plan to erect a 7-foot-high fence all the way around the reservation. Now, why they want to put this fence there, we don't know. But they were cutting land, they were cutting trees on the land of one of the traditional leaders of the Mohawk people. And he went over there, he stopped them, asked them what they were doing, and told them to get off his land, and confiscated some equipment because the confiscating of equipment is the only way that he could insure that there would be a response, that there would be a dialogue between himself and the members of the traditional council and those people who belonged to the elective system. The elective system was set up here in such a way that there is no recourse for the people, when they have problems with it. There is no one else they can complain to. If they complain to the outside force who created them, the outside says, well, we can't meddle with internal affairs. There are no mechanisms inside in this elective process that allows for dissent, or that allows for addressing problems that people might have with it. So he took the equipment back to his home and sure enough, the director of the program and an Indian policeman who works for Franklin County showed up and they talked it over and they agreed to wait until the rest of his family came home and his family discussed what they wanted to do in terms of that.

That agreement was violated later when the police returned that night and attacked his home with five Indian, biologically Indian police, seven New York State troopers, and with more State troopers and border patrol and back-up to this assault team. They physically and forcefully carried him from his home. During the process two other men were roughed-up by the police, and a seventy-three year old woman was hurt, and he was held in jail overnight. The Council of Chiefs was able to get his release the next day without bail and at that moment, the people decided that they were going to end one of the intrusions into their lives and that being this

MIKE MYERS continued on page 26

Australia: AMAX Kills A Dream Place

ARROGANCE, GREED CONFRONT YUNGNGORA PEOPLE

Noonkanbah is the name of a 400,000 hectare pastoral lease about 100 kilometres from Fitzroy Crossing in the Southern Kimberleys of the State of Western Australia. An estimated 250 Aborigines of the Yungngora Community have been living there since 1976 when the Aboriginal Lands Fund Commission — a federal body — purchased the lease for the purpose of Aboriginal resettlement. AMAX, a U.S.-based multinational, has been drilling an exploratory oil well in a goanna dreaming place near Pea Hill, only five kilometres from the community's living place. The company announced its plans on May 23 following a year of friction with the Aboriginal community there. During this time, two burial grounds and a ceremonial ground were damaged by contractors' bulldozers; roads were made unusable for long periods and broken fences were left unrepaired.

The Yungngora fear the social disruption that this mining invasion will cause to the social and economic structures of their newly reestablished community. Eight years ago the Yungngora walked off Noonkanbah due to the appalling conditions and moved to Fitzroy Crossing. There they faced the social problems of fringe dwelling — excess drinking, fighting and social fragmentation. After a long struggle, they moved back to Noonkanbah when the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission purchased the property. That was four years ago.

Noonkanbah station, operated for many years as a cattle ranch, went broke as a result of the walkout. The Yungngora say that the former white management had a history of oppressing its Aboriginal workers. Today, the station is run by the Yungngora community. In fact, it is run so successfully that it prompted praise even from the Western Australia Lands Minister (before the recent conflicts). Only two years after the Yungngora people took over, they earned \$94,000 from cattle sales. The profits have been used to help establish an independent school and to buy building materials for housing.

Spokespersons for the Yungngora state that the increased happiness, independence and well-being of communities living on their own land is even more important than the economic success. Malan (Lake Gregory Station), for example, is considered by health authorities to be one of the healthiest communities in the Kimberleys, despite its lack of basic amenities. Kimberley Aborigines attribute this to the spiritual well-being that comes from the Malan people living on their own land.

The Noonkanbah station lies about 100 kilometres southwest of Fitzroy Crossing. Nine years ago, following conflict with the station's European management, the Yungngora people walked off and became fringe dwellers around Fitzroy Crossing. They set up a camp on the banks of the Fitzroy River. The elders tried to hold the community together, but the attractions of town life led to a cycle of drinking, fighting and jail for many of the young people. In 1976, the Aboriginal Lands Fund Commission acquired Noonkanbah as a pastoral lease for the Yungngora people. This was the first step in the regeneration of community life. The leaders of the community were the first to return but others soon followed.

Within three years, they had pulled the station back from the brink of ruin (largely caused by overstocking.) Only one of thirty bores was working and many windmills and fences were destroyed. These they repaired. They strengthened the foundations of the community by establishing a school from the proceeds of a "chuck-in" — with whites to teach European skills and older aborigines to give the children grounding in their own culture. And the barred alcohol from being brought on to the station.

In this restoration of community life, the vital element was the land. Not for the stock it could support or for any other material benefit, but for its centrality in the life of the people. In aboriginal culture, there is an interpenetration of land and people which is unknown in European society. To quote from a submission prepared by an aboriginal association:

"In the aboriginal view, no distinction exists between man and land — they are quite literally part of each other."



And later:

"In the aboriginal view, man, natural species and the phenomenon of nature are all one and part of the same social, moral and psychological order. People and things, human and animal beings, persons and environment can and to compenetrates each other. Such a view of the link between man and land does not permit of an exploitative relationship of one by the other such as is to be found in the Western conception of land as capital. This non-exploitative attitude is manifest in the compelling emotional interest of aborigines in the topography as it has been left to them. When Europeans appropriated the land they also perforce appropriated the Aboriginal people who are also the land. For an aboriginal to leave the land would have been tantamount to an act of self-destruction. When Europeans began to change (and in aboriginal terms to destroy) the landscape in the process of what was called development, they began to change and destroy the aboriginal people who are that land."

It is in this context that the reaction of the Yungngora people to the drilling plans of AMAX and other companies must be understood. At the same time as the Yungngora people were returning to the land, the mining companies were moving in on the crest of an expected minerals boom throughout the Kimberleys. By 1978, more than 600 separate mining 'tenements' had been staked out by more than 30 companies on the Noonkanbah station. Claiming that there was no conflict of interest, AMAX moved on to Noonkanbah two years ago and began preliminary work. In the process, fences were damaged. An AMAX contractor drove a bulldozer over two burial sites and a ceremonial site on the station while nearly 1000 aborigines were gathered at Noonkanbah for a dance festival and the inaugural meeting of the Kimberley Land Council. He was seen and pulled from his seat by angry aboriginal onlookers. That there was indeed a conflict of interest in many areas was later established by the Western Australia Museum.

While they had no freehold over the land and

therefore no right according to the laws of the Western Australia government to resist the operations of the mining companies, the Yungngora people thought they had the protection of the WA Aboriginal Heritage Act (1972) which allowed for the protection of certain areas on the recommendation of the WA Museum. In May last year, the museum sent two officers to report on the Pea Hill site, where AMAX planned to begin its operations. Their report found that:

1. The whole area within which any drill hole could be located by the company falls under the influence of the special sites shown to me by the Aborigines of the clan descent group for that area.

2. The site complex is significant in both a religious and economic context. Mythological connections are both authentic and ancient and are intimately linked to the economic present.

3. It is currently the opinion of the aboriginal community that any utilisation of the drill zone, particularly the substrata by the company (AMAX) would be deleterious to the site complex.

Further comments by the museum officers included: "To drill a hole in this area and remove the subsurface is seen as a disastrous natural inversion of the natural order — an order that embodies several thousand years of mythical associations." The significance of Pea Hill was further explained in a statement issued by the Yungngora community:

"That area is a goanna place, all around on top of the ground the stones are really the goanna eggs. The sacred goannas have been living there under the ground since the dreamtime. If the drill goes down and kills the goanna, it will kill the spirits of the dead people there too, and it will make all the goannas leave the country so there will be no more for us to eat. Also we have a ceremony ground right near there, and if that is messed up we can't have the initiation ceremony there."

In the view of Dickie Skinner, chairman of the Yungngora community, drilling at Pea Hill will have incalculable consequences to those who have disturbed the spirits or who have allowed them to be disturbed.

The No. 1 drill area chosen by AMAX was found to be

"ONCE THE DRILLING RIG PENETRATES THE DREAMING PLACE' IT WILL KILL THE SPIRIT GOANNA THAT LIVES THERE, AND WITHOUT THE SPIRIT GOANNA, THE LIVING GOANNAS MAY NOT MATE. IT IS AN EVENT THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED A GREAT DISASTER, NOT ONLY TO THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE, BUT TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD..."

right on an initiation site, following which the company agreed to start operations on a second site which was of lesser significance but still in the maladji (special or sacred) area. The protection of the museum and the Heritage Act counted for little. In March 1980 the government instructed the museum not to answer any press questions about Noonkanbah 'but to refer them to the Premier's Department' and the WA Minister for Cultural Affairs — using his discretionary power to issue directives to the museum — later instructed the Board of Trustees, for the second time in a year, to approve drilling at Noonkanbah. This was given on March 25. The Minister's action was described as reprehensible by Professor R.M. Berndt, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia: 'In my view, as one of the original members of the interim committee responsible for drafting the terms of the Act before it went to the Government, there was not intention on our part that the Minister be authorized to force approval of something the (cultural material) committee had recommended against.'

'The Minister has the right to reject recommendations put forward by the committee, but not to hide behind the museum's trustees or his cultural material committee.'

On Thursday March 27 an interim injunction taken out by the Aboriginal Legal Service against drilling was lifted and on March 29 AMAX began sinking a water bore on the No. 2 site to service the drilling operations. The bore was expected to reach a depth of 1200–2000 feet, the oil drill itself up to 20,000 feet.

The failure of the Heritage Act to protect the sacred sites of Noonkanbah and the inability of the State government to comprehend their significance (encapsulated in Sir Charles Court's offer to 'fence them off' if the aborigines desired) have deeply offended the Yungngora people, particularly in view of their struggle to revive community life after 150 years of dispossession and degradation imposed by European settlement. Their reaction is best summed up in an unpublished letter written by Dickie Skinner and Ivan McPhee to the *West Australian* newspaper:

"How can you expect us the aboriginal to respect you law if you, the Government, do not?"

"You send Government man to our land to talk. He promises no mining on sacred area, but he breaks promise. Why should we talk to you the Government? You break promises and law, your law."

"You say that we want to live like white fellows, how do you know? You don't listen to us. If we were white fellows then our land would not matter. We left our land because of white fellow treatment. Our people worked for whiteman because he was on our land. We accepted out people living under trees and humpies and working for tobacco and flour for a long time, because of our sacred land. YET finally we moved all our people because of even worse management whiteman, pushing us around. We told our people that they could not work for that station but our old people visit our sacred area when they could but nobody stayed there. We could not have our ceremonies there because of whiteman owning land, our land. We ask the Government for our land back for many years. They give it back, but not really."

"We all go back, we begin our ceremonies again. We put our young people back in law, tell them stories about their land. We try to make the people strong again. We have an important ceremony on this area of sacred land. After many years, the old people are happy."

"We decide the children should learn the language. We fight for our community school. The Government won't listen. Promises but nothing. We pay our own teachers, both black and white, for one year, from community chuck in. Our children begin to learn the language. They begin to belong again to their land."

"They have their freedom. For the first time they can

live the way they want to, and not be pushed around by whiteman. People are proud of our culture, our life, our beliefs. We muster cattle. We sell cattle. We like this too, we are in our land. We need money to live. We want our children to learn whitemen's ways so that we can run the station, but we know that they must learn their own ways if going to live properly. Now whiteman Government take our sacred land away, our old men are scared. They know that terrible things can happen to them, both old and young. They are hurt already in the heart."

"The Government said we will benefit from this mining. How can we if our people's lives are in danger from our people and spirits? Whiteman does not believe our story, our tribal law. But we do know it is right way to live. We see other aborigines in a mess because they have left their own culture and try to become whitefellows. They drink and fight, but our young people and children are proud and happy on our land. You say we are breaking the whiteman's law, but you the Government, break your own law and ask us to break our law, which you don't know, or care about. How can our people live a strong life if you take our sacred land away?"

"You say aborigines are no good but you take everything from us. You say you need money from mining. We give you land elsewhere for mining. You say must have a sacred area for mining. Why?"

The contractors hired by AMAX moved on to the drilling site on the morning of March 28. What happened when they were approached by members of the community remains a subject of controversy. According to a statement issued by the Premier's office (and given wide publicity in the Perth Media), the contractors fled after being 'threatened' by a group of aborigines and two white men. One report which reached a Perth television station said they were armed with spears. According to the sequence of events which I obtained the following day, there were no spears. The contractors were approached and asked: "What would you do if we asked you to go?" and left some time later. I was informed that during the morning, one of the contractors was apparently so unconcerned by the presence of the aborigines that he found some shade and read a book. Later in the afternoon, police arrived at the site and asked community leaders if they intended to continue to hinder the drilling operations. They replied "yes" and in the evening three police cars arrived at the station. During the night a padlock holding one of the main gates was cut and in the morning eight policemen were present at the site to "guard" the contractors. At least one other policeman was seen elsewhere on the station.

I arrived at Noonkanbah early the next morning and was invited to attend a meeting of the Yungngora community at which it was agreed that everyone would go to the site and again ask AMAX to leave. If this failed, it was decided to call a meeting of "lawmen" from all over the Kimberleys at Noonkanbah to discuss the situation. Contrary to accusations appearing in the Perth press about "meddlers" at Noonkanbah (for an example of which see Sir Charles Court's comments in the *West Australian* of March 20) these decisions clearly represented the will of the community. I was asked to accompany the community to the site as an informal "observer".

The conversation which ensued at the drilling site with the AMAX man (Mr. Tom Lyon), did not make a great deal of headway. Although the mood of the people was relaxed and although there were police cars only 50 metres away, Mr. Lyon was obviously on edge and on several occasions interpreted what I thought were fairly innocuous statements as threatening. As an example of this, a young boy called Michael asked why AMAX had pulled down a tent the community had erected at the site and asked Mr. Lyon how he would feel if they came

to his house and pulled down his tent. To this Mr. Lyon replied, as if he expected a group of aborigines on his front lawn the next day, "Is that a threat?" The first matter raised by the community was the media claim that the contractors had been threatened the day before. Mr. Lyon denied responsibility for the statement about the spears and replied: "What came from AMAX was that a group of aborigines approached the contractors directly and they were apprehensive of their safety and thought it better to retreat from the location... They were frightened of what might happen to them if they stayed." He conceded that there had been no direct verbal threats, but claimed that there had been threats "by implication."

It would be tiresome to repeat details of the discussion which followed because it kept returning to the same point — the conflict between white man's law and black man's law at Noonkanbah — but some examples might be useful:

Lyon: Everyone in Australia lives under the laws of Australia.

Skinner: What sort of law?

Lyon: That's got nothing to do with it. We have been told that we can carry out work here.

Skinner: You can't — this is a sacred site.

Lyon: What will happen?

Skinner: Well, you wait... you will find out.

Lyon: Is that another threat?

or later in the conversation:

Skinner: I asked you yesterday whether I'm breaking white man's law.

Lyon: That's it (spreading his arms out and walking away).

Skinner: Who is breaking the law?

Lyon: (No answer)

Skinner: You told me yesterday that I'm breaking white man's law but you got to realize there are two different laws.

The communications and cultural gaps between the two men was again revealed when Dickie Skinner asked Mr. Lyon whether he was married with children, and hinted at the terrible consequences of drilling on a sacred site, to which Mr. Lyon replied: "What has it to do with my wife and children? Are you trying more threats?" He seemed to believe he was in danger of some sort of physical attack, when what Dickie Skinner was saying was that any interruption of the spirit world under the earth would have terrible consequences which not even he could predict.

This session ended inconclusively, but several days later, the Yungngora blocked access to the drilling site. A statement issued by Sir Charles Court accused the aborigines of showing "raw racial hatred" under the influence of "ideological penetration." I believe this is untrue. I saw no signs of race hatred at Noonkanbah, and I do not believe the Yungngora people are being urged to confront AMAX and the State government by white advisers. I believe that the people there are acting in defense of what may justly be regarded as their legitimate and vital interests. It has been claimed that the community is holding out for drilling royalties. I do not believe that this is true. The Yungngora people would clearly prefer to have no drilling at Noonkanbah, but if the Government insists on allowing drilling then some offer of compensation may be appropriate.

Two other statements made by the WA government are worthy of comment. The first is the "disclosure" that mining site work began at Noonkanbah in 1969 without any protests then from the Yungngora people. In response to this it must be pointed out that at the time Noonkanbah was being managed by Europeans and that the Yungngora people had not reached the level of confidence which would enable them to stand up to a

mining company or a State government. The second statement concerns the remark by the Premier that "we have shown a degree of patience with the aborigines that we would never have shown to a white pastoral leaseholder." (quoted in the *West Australian*, March 28). The reply to this is that to white pastoral leaseholders, the value of the land lies in its material potential and not its spiritual and cultural significance. By permitting drilling on the sacred sites of Noonkanbah, the WA State Government is attacking Yungngora community life at its very source — the land.

Finally, drilling on these sites clearly violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (to which the Australian Government is a signatory).

In their report to overseas support groups in June, 1980, the Kimberley Land Council, an Aboriginal organization, stated:

"If the people at Noonkanbah and at Glen Hill (near Lake Argyle) loose their struggle and mining occurs on land sacred to them, other Aborigines throughout the Kimberley will know that they have no chance against the resource-rich mining companies and their Government backers. People will become dispirited, and loss of hope will bring community disintegration. If we win the right to prevent mining on sacred areas, our people will have taken a great step forward. We will know that it is worth fighting, and that it is only by holding fast to our beliefs and by uniting with each other, that we can do so.

"We are fighting impossible odds, but we are growing in strength amongst our communities. Our isolation is great, but we have seen increasing support from people in the cities. For the first time the trade union movement has committed itself to supporting us, and this has been crucial in helping the people at Noonkanbah hold out against the Government and AMAX. The United Nations Association of Australia, church groups, academics and many individuals have also spoken out against heavy-handed government tactics, and in support of land rights. The focus at the moment is on Noonkanbah and Glen Hill, but in fact companies are everywhere across the Kimberley and many other communities are threatened...

"The use of police is intimidating and provocative. We have been calling for negotiation, but the Government seems intent on using force. We are very familiar with this. The history of white occupation is full of instances of police and settler violence towards Aborigines, as is evident in the many massacre stories.

"The Government keeps saying that we are being manipulated by white advisors, as if we cannot think for ourselves. The Government would like nothing better than to deny us access to resources such as legal advisers and anthropologists so as to weaken us and keep us in ignorance of various avenues of action available to us. The Government and the mining companies certainly aren't short of technical expertise and resources which can be used for media campaigns and top quality lawyers."

The assault against Aborigine lands and culture underscores a kind of conflict over sovereignty between Australia's federal government and the constituent state governments. The state governments, including that of Western Australia, assert the power to determine all aspects of policy relative to the Aboriginal population, and the federal government has done little to interfere. The name of the game in this remote part of the world is development, and the victims in this settler state are predictably the racial minority which was dispossessed of their lands and forced into conditions of extreme poverty and despair for a century and a half.

Conservative Australians have responded to the conflict with a call for "equal rights for all," a tactic similar to the conservative elements in the United States which have called for an abrogation of Indian treaties because such treaties guarantee rights to Native people which are not guaranteed to all U.S. citizens. Robert Stringer of the Uniting Church in Western Australia responded to that position:

"The current question of equal rights for all ignores the unequal treatment of the Aboriginal people in the past. In order for there to be equality they must no longer be subject to the oppression and discrimination that has characterized black-white relationships

throughout Australian history.

"No talk about equality becomes realistic until some of these handicaps are faced and overcome. Answers to these concerns can be imposed from the outside, but the greatest equality comes when the Aboriginal people are enabled to be self-determining in such a way that they become aware of their own needs and take responsibility for their own future.

This summer, the conflict at Noonkanbah came to a head. The Western Australia government commanded that an oil drilling rig be transported to the Noonkanbah site and that drilling commence. Under heavy police guard a caravan carrying oil drilling equipment began the and that drilling commence. Under heavy police guard a caravan carrying oil drilling equipment began the long trek to remote Noonkanbah. Australia's newspapers carried daily accounts of the journey, while supporters of the Aborigines organized demonstrations and non-violent actions designed to block the path of the caravan. Several dozen people were arrested, many of them non-Aboriginal supporters, people of conscience.

On August 12 it was announced that the Australian Worker's Union had banned drilling at Noonkanbah until there had been a negotiated settlement between the Aborigines and the State government. On the same day, at Noonkanbah, twenty-two protesters, including four ministers were arrested at a roadblock which had been set up to stop the oil rig. As the days of August passed, the Australian Worker's Union issued strong statements in support of the rights of the Aborigines, threatening strike action unless the government halted the oil drilling expedition. Workers on the site actually went on strike, refusing to operate the drilling equipment. The Western Australia government turned a deaf ear to all parties protesting the action and invaded the Noonkanbah community with an armed force which proceeded to set up structures in preparation for the actual drilling.

The Noonkanbah people dispatched representatives to take their case to the United Nations in Geneva, but they were not to be successful. On August 29, 1970, despite tremendous last-minute efforts, drilling operations began at the goanna dreaming site.

One of the support people called AKWESASNE NOTES on that day. "They've started drilling," she said, "It's all over. The people will loose all hope. It's all over."

Once the drilling rig penetrates the dreaming place, it will kill the spirit goanna that lives there, and without the spirit goanna, the real goannas may not mate. (The goanna is a lizard which is a source of food to the Aborigines at Noonkanbah.) It is an event which should be considered a great disaster, not only to the Aboriginal people, but to all the people of the world. The Noonkanbah goanna dreaming place was one of only a few sacred sites around the world which had not been desecrated by the industrial world's search for minerals and other forms of wealth. The Aborigines understand, as many Western people will not, that now that the sacred site has been desecrated, the world will never be the same. The people at Noonkanbah had begun to rebuild for themselves a new and better life based on spiritual values. The Western Australia has not seen fit to allow them that right.

(Much of this article was adapted from an April 1980 report by Mr. Jeremy Salt to the United Nations Association of Australia to whom we are grateful for this material.)



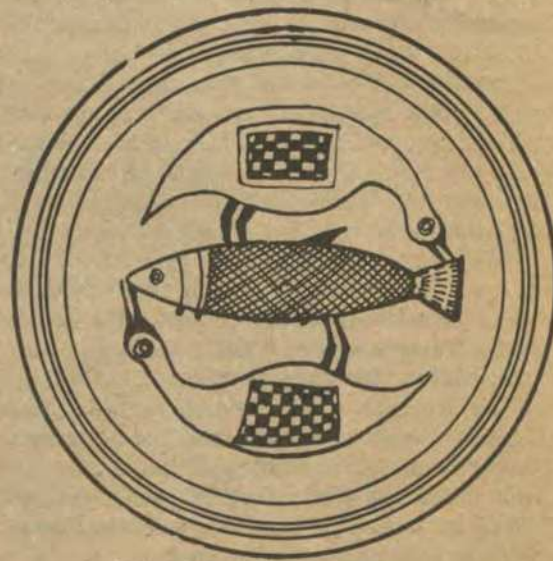
MIKE MYERS from page 23

Indian police force that was placed here by the state of New York. In a series of meetings, they agreed on the removal of the police force and three times they asked the police force to resign peacefully. And on the fourth time when the police officers refused to resign their position they were forcefully removed from their position by the men who were picked by the Council to do that job.

Now what has happened since that time is that the State police forces of New York and the court system of Franklin County have been used as political tools to carry out the oppression and the suppression of the traditional government and the traditional people of this land. Both processes which are supposed to be the epitomy and the guardians of justice in America have been subverted and used for the political purposes of an elite few who are supported by, and hugely supported to the tune of six-million dollars by outside federal and state monies. We now have 23 people under indictment. We have been in this encampment since June and at this point in time we are waiting for the judge to make a ruling. And we hope that the political processes and pressures that we are working on will begin to bear fruit, then maybe help to resolve this situation.

But even if we win we have a problem in front of us. The problem we have in front of us is that not only have the Americans physically planted themselves in here, but they have mentally, psychologically, spiritually implanted themselves here. We are faced with the same problem of bringing about the re-unification of the Mohawk nation that was faced by the Vietnamese in bringing about the re-unification of Vietnam. How do you come to grips with and deal with your own people who have been subjected to an unending barrage of anti-Indian propaganda, who have been educated in school systems that have taught them to value only the individual and not the collective, to think and see the world in exploitable economic terms and not as relatives to yourselves? How do you begin to undo that? How do you begin to undo the dependency upon dollars that has been created and start moving back towards a more self-sufficient economy?

It's a problem that is facing everybody in the Western World because everybody has been manipulated into that situation. Some more than others. Some have been manipulated into it for so long they've lost absolute sight of their roots. Some, it's only occurred, like in our case, in the past hundred years. And we still don't have alternatives to turn to and try to deal with. But I think that's the problem that is facing all humans. How do we survive on the world so that we don't exploit one another? So that we don't exploit the Natural World? And we can go about the business of the re-creation of cultures that are harmonious to the life patterns which were established on this planet. And I think that is going to be a tremendous job, because it means looking out for new ideologies, new concepts, that presently are not the super-powers on the face of the earth. And it means aggressively challenging the super-powers on the face of the earth about what is the business that they see themselves conducting here. And I think that is going to be quite a tremendous job for everyone.



A Message For Native Youth

By Dagmar Thorpe

"The disintegration of our tribal cultures is picking up. This may be the last chance we have for a bridge to the past. Every generation is a link in the chain. Once it is broken, we may not have an opportunity to mend it — and our culture will become a thing of the past. We will be left with little bits and pieces of what was once great nations of people."

"The old people said that this was inevitable. My grandfather told me that he hated to see the day, when we would only be reflective of Indian people — just the image — only the appearance of being Indian. Our uniqueness as Indian people would be gone."

Regis Pecos, Cochiti Pueblo 1980

If Native peoples are to survive, then the young must prepare for the responsibilities of the future. Young people are the future of our Native Nations. Your involvement and actions today, will determine whether tribal traditions will be maintained or restored — whether Indian legal and political rights are recognized — or whether Native Americans shall continue as distinct peoples or become mainstream society. The involvement and actions of youth will determine the direction that we will take in the future. What are the things which each individual youth can do to prepare for tomorrow?

WHEN PEOPLE CEASE TO SHOW RESPECT THEN LIFE ON THIS PLANET WILL COME TO AN END. The way in which a person views the world and his or her relationship to it, determines the direction which that life will take. This "world view" is the underlying motivation for every action, it shapes relationships with other human beings and the natural world, and it determines how lives are lived. In the past, we did not have to think too much about world view — the culture of the people was the world view. Today, however, young people are faced with many more choices — and many temptations.

"In the beginning, we were told that the human beings who walk about on earth have been provided with all the things necessary for life. We were instructed to carry a love for one another and to show a great respect for all the beings of this Earth. We were shown that our life exists with the tree life, that our well being depends on the well being of the vegetable life, that we are close relations of the four legged beings. In our ways, spiritual consciousness is the highest form of politics. . . . When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things, then all life will be destroyed, and human life on this planet will come to an end."

The Hau de no sau nee (Six Nations) Address to the Western World 1977

It is hard to stay Indian in today's society. Every day tribal rights are attacked from a different source. Every day there is an act of racism or hatred against our people. Every day we see those lands and waters which were our peoples become dirtier and crowded with people. Every day you see what these pressures do to our people. These things make you mad. These things make you unhappy. So it becomes easier to "cop out" and try to forget all of these things. It becomes easier to start depending on the white man's ways of forgetting about his troubles: drinking, watching television, and drugs are all becoming a way of Indian life also — a way of escape from life.

"Indian people are facing grave issues today. We are being constantly attacked from all sides in the struggle to survive as a race of Indian nations. We have to be of one mind and clear minds when dealing with these problems. Strength and willingness are the key factors. And that strength and willingness will not come out of the bars or out of a sixpack or a bottle, or a drug, or out of an aerosol can or a pill. Our concern is supposed to be for future generations, but at the rate we are going we'll be lucky if we survive one — our own."

Marge Stevens, Women of All Red Nations 1980



TO RETURN TO THE ROAD THE CREATOR GAVE US. The first responsibility of youth is to maintain a clean mind and clean body. The human body is becoming contaminated in much the same way as the natural world around us. This contamination creates an imbalance in the natural world — and it creates an imbalance in the people also. This imbalance affects the ability to think. There is no way a person can have good judgement when they are hung-over after a night of partying. It just isn't possible. When this becomes the whole focus of a life — there is nothing else in that life.

As spiritual values deteriorate, individuals also begin this process of deterioration. Positive ways of respect for one another are replaced with negative attitudes. These negative attitudes include a dog-eat-dog mentality, concern for one's self instead of all the people, values of sharing are replaced with the objective of personal wealth, and all of these things leave a vacuum where there was once a heart. Relationships become built on what you can get out of a person, rather than on respect. The eventual result is destruction of families, relationships with other human beings, and eventually yourself.

"People must reckon with the primary cause of their problems — their spiritual separation from the real natural world. They must recognize that when they view themselves as the superior inhabitants of the Earth, they do not respect the right of all life on this earth to flourish. Many men and women in our communities who at one time had a deep love for life are destroyed by the oppressive conditions we now live under. The society that surrounds us (with their nightclubs, moviehouses, televisions, and radios) offer no genuine opportunity to enjoy life's sacred wonders: to hear the bird's song in the morning, to watch fish swim in a clear mountain stream, or simply to hear our grandparents tell stories of times gone by. As a result many of our people are left with an emptiness where once they were filled with good earth ways. Many of these people then attempt to fill this void with alcohol, drugs, material or monetary wealth, or through indulgence in social entertainment or false security. By doing this they are taken further away from the Earth, from Creation, and from understanding themselves."

Richard Two Elk, Lakota, "To Return to the Road the Creator Gave Us", published in Indigena 1978.

YOUR SOVEREIGNTY IS IN THE EARTH. For Indian youth living in cities — it is especially hard to be an Indian. A city is an artificial environment because it is made by man. It is removed from the earth and from the natural way of life. It is very important to have this connection to the earth. Many traditional leaders from the Six Nations, to the Hopi, to the Pit River — have been saying for years that the survival of Indian people depends on returning to the land.

"... to laugh and sing, and to embrace someone, to love someone, to have children, to raise gardens, to build a home are human things. Human being kinds of things,

natural kinds of things. . . all the politics in the world isn't going to give your sovereignty back. Your sovereignty is in the earth. It's your birthright, no one can take it from you, or no one can bestow it on you. That's what the Creation gave us."

Coyote, Wylaki 1978

Traditional values are the means by which Native Peoples live in harmony with ourselves, with each other, and with the natural world. A return to traditional values means return of a world view based on harmony and respect for the natural world — a way of life based on harmony and respect for each other. Today, many of the ways that people relate to each other — jealousies, hatred, fighting, backstabbing — are happening because people are thinking more about themselves, rather than the people. This attitude is what is destroying the people — so that the destruction of Native Americans not only comes from outside forces — but also from within.

USE YOUR STRENGTH ON BEHALF OF THE NATION, ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE. Some ask why it is important to hold onto our religion, traditions, and cultures. Of what value they say, are ancient values in today's society? The ways of the people — their traditions, spiritual beliefs, and cultures — are always changing. The ways of a people are dynamic, as the lives of the people are dynamic. This means that there is a continuous interchange between the individual and his environment — the people and their environment. The ways of the people change to adapt to changing environments. As the white man's way of doing things have changed in the last 100 years, so have the ways of the Indian people. The underlying principles, however, can remain the same. For example, Native American respect for all living things — the land, fish, birds, grasses, water — is a value which has much meaning today. Lack of respect for all things creates many of the human and environmental problems faced today.

"Our principles do not change. Justice is always justice; freedom is always freedom. Great principles are constant. And so what they call 'the old way' is nothing more than principles. And they say you can't go back to the old ways — which means you can't go back to justice, you can't go back to equality, you can't go back to what is right and what is wrong. Principles are how you exist above and beyond the emotions you feel; to control and have the discipline of one's self. Self-discipline — not people making you behave, but discipline where you don't need police. That is how our people lived. There were no police. There were no jails. There were basic laws — you don't lie and steal. Tell the truth. Be strong. Look out for your brother. Look out for the ones who are just underneath you. Look out for the elders. Use your strength on behalf of the Nation, on behalf of the people. Conduct yourself in a proper way."

Oren Lyons, Chief, Onondaga Nation 1979

The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute

ENERGY ASPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS

BY John Redhouse

"I believe that the people working hardest on behalf of the Hopis acquiring their half of the Joint Use Area are major utility companies and people who have an interest in utility companies and those with an interest in the land."

Peter Macdonald
Navajo Tribal Chairman

The Navajo-Hopi land dispute is one of the most complex issues in the history of American Indian affairs. This paper will briefly examine its energy aspects and implications

History & Background

The primary issue of the land dispute is the ownership and control of 1.8 million acres in northeastern Arizona.

In 1864, the United States government invaded the Navajo Nation. The Navajos were conquered and then forced to march to a military concentration camp in New Mexico. Four years later, they signed a treaty to return to their new reservation. The Hopis, however, never signed a treaty with the government.

In 1882, an executive order established the Hopi reservation. According to the order, the reservation was created "for the use and occupancy of Moqui (Hopi), and such other Indians as the Secretary of Interior may see fit to settle thereon." Such other Indians included the Navajos.

In 1937, the Department of Interior then established grazing districts on the Navajo and Hopi reservations. District Six was created for the Hopi use area of the executive order reservation. The remainder of the reservation became part of a Navajo grazing district. So the Navajos continued to sue and occupy most of the executive order reservation.

In 1958, Congress passed a law to authorize the chairmen of the Navajo and Hopi tribes and the U.S. Attorney General to adjudicate the tribes' rights in the executive order reservation. According to the law, a special court of three judges was established to decide the case.

In 1960, the Hopis filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court in Prescott, Arizona. Two years later, the court decided that:

- The Hopis owned exclusive rights of 600,000 acres in District Six.

- The Navajos and Hopis owned joint use rights of 1.8 million acres in the remainder of the executive order reservation.

- The court did not possess jurisdiction to partition the joint use area.

The decision was then appealed. In 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the earlier decision.

In 1974, Congress passed another law to authorize the district court to partition the Joint Use Area (JUA) of the two tribes. Three years later, the U.S. District Court in Tucson, Arizona partitioned the JUA. Although the order has been appealed, the federal government is now conducting a relocation and livestock reduction program in the partitioned Joint Use Area.

Black Mesa Coal

The Navajo-Hopi land dispute is directly related to present and future energy development in the Southwest. Most of the disputed area is located at Black Mesa.

Black Mesa is the largest coal formation in the State of Arizona. It contains an estimated 21.2 billion tons of known accessible bituminous coal. There are also uranium, oil, natural gas and water resources.

The Black Mesa coal formation is divided into three smaller formations; Wepo, Toreva, and Dakota Sandstone. The Wepo formation contains 5.6 billion tons of coal. The other two formations contain the remaining 15.6 billion tons.

The Peabody Coal Company is stripmining part of the Wepo formation. Although there is not yet a specific proposal to mine the Toreva and Dakota Sandstone formations, the overall quality of Black Mesa coal is favorable for electrical generation and gasification. It contains a high BTU (British Thermal Unit) rate and is relatively low in sulfur and ash content.

Prelude to Development

In 1909, the U.S. Geological Survey discovered coal at Black Mesa. For the next forty years, various coal studies of the area were conducted. Estimates of strippable coal reserves ranged from two to eight billion tons.

After the livestock reduction campaign of the 1930's and 1940's, many of the traditional Navajo and Hopi people were forced to become dependent on the wage economy. The severe winter snowstorms of the late 1940's reduced even more livestock. These events helped create a cycle of continuing dependency on federal aid among the two tribes.

A Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) contract study, however, said that the problem of Navajo and Hopi poverty was due to undeveloped physical and human resources. The report further stated that "the Navajo (and Hopi) country land is considered submarginal for human occupation and advancement by normal standards. Unavoidably, innumerable problems arise in such an environment, with many of them stemming from a need to increase the development and exploitation of every resource. By initiating a maximum development program, increased employment and a higher standard of living for these people can be realized."

As a result, the Navajo Hopi Rehabilitation Act was passed by Congress in 1950 to develop a long-range program to "rehabilitate" the Navajo and Hopi reservations. It also appropriated funds for mineral surveys and studies. The BIA then retained the College of Mines at the University of Arizona to conduct a comprehensive study of mineral resources (including uranium and groundwater) on the Hopi reservation and the Arizona and Utah portions of the Navajo reservation. In 1956, the University of Arizona published a report on their findings and conclusions. The report discussed the evaluation and future development of coal in the Black Mesa area.

The U.S. Geological Survey and Arizona Bureau of Mines have since conducted a series of studies on groundwater and uranium resources on the two reservations.

Coal Development

In 1964, Peabody Coal Company secured a 24,000 acre lease from the Navajo tribal council to stripmine coal at Black Mesa. Two years later, Peabody secured another lease from the Navajo and Hopi tribal councils to mine an additional 40,000 acres in the Joint Use Area of Black Mesa. Both leases were approved by the Interior Department.

In 1970, Peabody began its stripmining operations. It consists of two large mines and attendant transportation systems. Coal from the first mine is transported by an underground water slurry pipeline to the Mohave Power Plant at Bullhead City near the Nevada-Arizona border. Coal from the second mine is transported by an electric train to the Navajo Power Plant at Page, Arizona. Last year, Peabody stripmined 12 million tons of coal at its Black Mesa site.

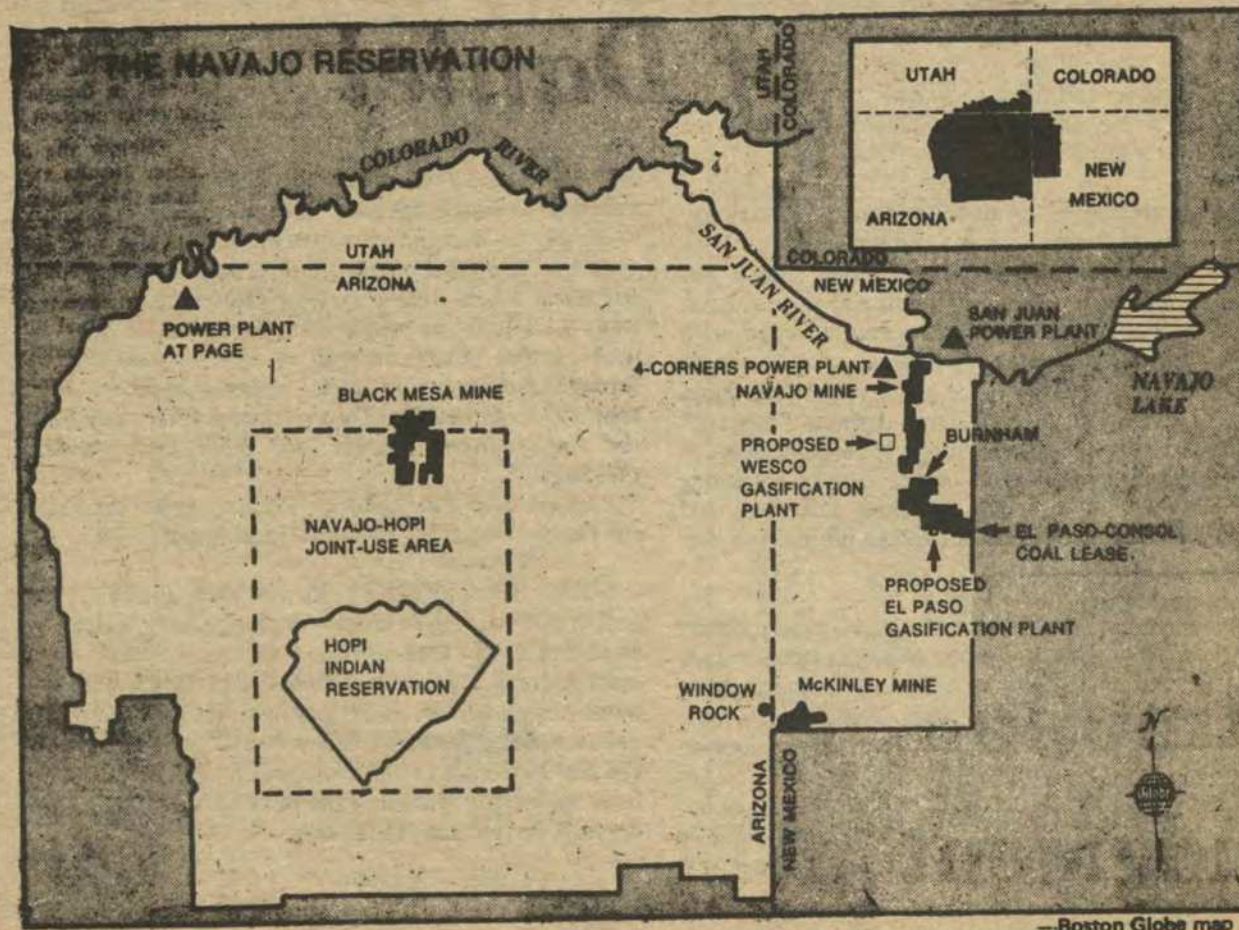
The annual production from the two Black Mesa mines represent the largest coal stripmining operation in the Southwest. The Navajo Power Plant is also the largest coal-fired electrical generating station in the Southwest.

In 1976, Dresser Minerals Company secured a permit from the Navajo and Hopi tribes to drill and explore for coal in the northwestern part of the JUA. Dresser later proposed to lease a portion of their permit area to mine coal. The lease, however, was rejected.

Future Development

For the past twenty-five years, various studies have suggested that the uncommitted coal reserves in the Black Mesa area could be mined for electrical generation and gasification.

In 1955, Arizona Public Service Company retained the Standard Research Institute to conduct an economic feasibility study of coal development at Black Mesa. The study concluded that the coal could be economically mined for electrical generation. Another report by the University of Arizona School of Mines indicated that the coal could be immediately mined for large-scale commercial development. Peabody Coal Company has



—Boston Globe map

since leased the northern portion.

In 1970, the Arizona Bureau of Mines conducted a comprehensive study of mineral resources in Arizona. The study suggested that the unleased coal at Black Mesa could be mined, gasified, and then transported by an existing network of natural gas pipelines to southern California and other parts of Arizona.

In 1976, the Bureau of Mines further stated that "Indications are that the coal resources of Black are large and for the most part remains unexplored. The region is large and much of it is relatively uninhabited. There is a wide range of opportunities within which discussion, exploration and possible development might be undertaken, especially as regards mining style (surface or underground), locations and size of operations, and transportation modes." "It would behoove Arizona leaders to investigate seriously all possible avenues to the development, however limited, of additional Black Mesa coal resources for utilization within the state."

Future expanded development of the Black Mesa coal formation could provide a secondary fuel supply for three large electrical generating power plants in northeastern Arizona. These power plants are: Cholla Generating Station at Joseph City, Coronado Generating Station at St. Johns, and a proposed generating station at Springville.

Black Mesa Water

The disputed area is also located in the Little Colorado River watershed. The Dinnebito, Moenkopi, Dot Klish and Coal Mine washes at Black Mesa are tributaries of the Little Colorado River.

In 1978, the State of Arizona began to adjudicate the surface rights of the watershed and its tributaries. The Navajo Tribe has since intervened in the case.

Control of surface and ground water resources at Black Mesa is another important aspect of the land dispute.

Claims Attorneys

In 1956, the BIA mineral resources study of the

Navajo and Hopi reservations was published. During the same year, the Hopi tribal attorney unsuccessfully filed a petition to the Interior Secretary to determine the tribe's exclusive mineral rights in the disputed area.

The Hopi attorney and BIA then helped develop a bill to authorize a special court to determine each of the tribe's claims in the area. The Navajo tribal attorney also supported the bill.

In 1958, Congress passed the bill and authorized \$20 million for roads to support mineral development on the two reservations. As a result of the bill and subsequent court decision, the Hopi attorney received \$1 million. The Navajo attorney received \$800,000.

The Energy Circle

The continuing rape of Black Mesa is a part of a larger energy development scenario in the Southwest.

In 1964, the Western Energy Supply & Transmission (WEST) Associates was formed to construct and operate a number of coal-fired electrical generating power plants in Arizona, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Colorado. WEST is a consortium of 23 utility companies, local power authorities, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

The members of WEST Associates are: Arizona Power Authority, Arizona Public Service Company, Arizona Electric Power Cooperative, City of Burbank Public Service Department, City of Colorado Springs Public Utilities Department, Colorado-Ute Electric Association, El Paso Electric Company, City of Glendale Public Service Department, Imperial Irrigation District, City of Los Angeles Water & Power Department, Nevada Power Company, Pacific Power & Light Company, City of Pasadena Light & Power Department, Plains Electric G & T Cooperative, Public Service Company of Colorado, Public Service Company of New Mexico, Salt River Project, San Diego Gas & Electric Company, Sierra Pacific Power Company, Southern California Edison Company, Southern Colorado Power Division, Tucson Gas & Electric Company, Utah Power & Light Company, and Bureau of Reclamation. The Bureau of Reclamation

is an agency of the Department of Interior.

In 1965, Salt River Project began to negotiate with the Interior Department for a water service contract to operate the proposed Navajo Power Plant. The power plant is a WEST project.

In 1967, the Secretary of Interior then announced that the Bureau of Reclamation would purchase 25 per cent of the electricity at the Navajo Power Plant to pump water from the Lower Colorado River to the proposed Central Arizona Project (CAP). CAP will provide water to Phoenix, Tucson, and other parts of central Arizona. CAP is also a project of the Bureau of Reclamation.

During the same timeline, the Department of Interior approved PEabody's leases at Black Mesa to mine coal for the Navajo Power Plant and Mohave Power Plant. The Mohave plant is also a WEST project.

In 1968, the Interior Secretary then persuaded the Navajo tribal council to waive their water rights in the

Arizona portion of the Upper Colorado River so that the Navajo Power Plant and the city of Page could receive the remainder of their allocation. Six months later, the Salt River Project and five other WEST members secured a lease from the tribal council to build the power plant at Page. The water rights waiver and lease were both approved by the Interior Department.

In 1971, a member of the Arizona congressional delegation and the Assistant Interior Secretary drafted a bill to further divide the sacred mountain of Black Mesa and separate the Navajo and Hopi peoples. Three years later, Congress passed the largest Indian removal act in Modern history.

The Navajo-Hopi land dispute is largely the result of external pressures by the United States government and its corporate interests. Strategic control of mineral resources and surface access in the disputed area may be a key to future energy production in the Southwest.



MESSAGE TO YOUTH continued from page 27

These principles, or our "world view", are the basis for the decisions which we make for ourselves and for the future of the people. We as human beings have been given the gift of reason or the ability to make good decisions or to make bad decisions for our lives. Most of today's public or boarding school education does not teach us how to think. It is based upon being able to remember and then restate facts. It is not based upon looking at the whole picture — how each decision relates to the whole. Thinking is broken down into little pieces. It is because of this inability to think about the whole picture that we have so many problems today. For example, when sewage is dumped into rivers, the only thought is how to get rid of human waste. Little thought is given to the impact this will have on our ability to drink that water. If human beings think only of their present satisfaction, they will destroy the birthright of generations to come. A nation is made up of those that came before, those that are here now, and those that will come later.

Public or boarding school education has also taught us to distrust the judgement of our own people but to trust the judgement of the white people. This has created a conflict within ourselves over values — Indian values or non-Indian values. The recent controversy over whether the Western Shoshone people should accept money for their lands or continue to try and protect their birthright is a good example of this conflict of values.

"We are smart to take a few thousand dollars rather than nothing. . . We can't turn back the clock, our grandparents lost the land, they are dead, it's too late, too late for them and too late for our children who have lost and are losing their culture. . . I am an Indian and I have six Indian children. I'm trading their heritage for the chance to become anything they want to be. . ."

Jodie White-Wood, NATIVE NEVADAN 1980

"The land is most sacred as is the water flowing upon it, the growing things of the land, the air we breathe, and the food that grows for us to eat. All of these things were put here for our use by the Great Spirit and respect is given them by given them by all Indian people of this land. The Western Shoshone people have a duty to protect these things."

Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Assoc., 1979

In this example, some Western Shoshone people have been misled because of what the United States government and the claims attorneys have been telling them, and some would simply rather have the money no matter what they are giving up in exchange. The traditional Shoshone people are put in the position of trying to protect Shoshone lands not only against outside intruders, but even against their own people. The people must relearn to think for themselves because the United States, the states, and others continuously try to deceive the people so they can take our lands and resources. Louie Bad Wound, a Lakota headman, puts it this way: "By what authority does the United States take away Native American rights? By statute, court decision, or by any other means? Because it is written by a white man, does that make it the gospel truth? Were we conquered by the United States or are we conquering ourselves through accepting how the white man defines our sovereignty?"

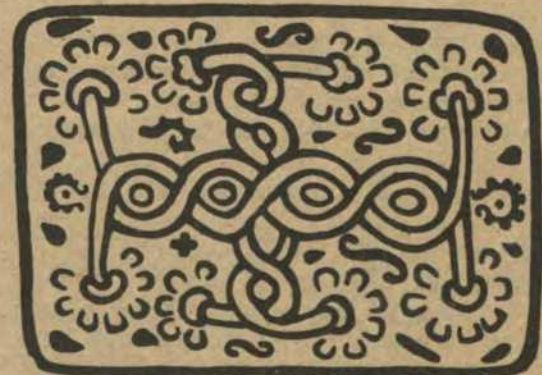
WE MUST SEEK OUT THE SPIRITUAL PEOPLE BECAUSE ONLY THAT IS GOING TO HELP US SURVIVE. We can no longer move blindly through our lives, permitting outside forces to determine who we are as a people. We must make a stand. Our future as Indian people, human beings, and as a part of the natural world is clearly being threatened with destruction. The earth is being destroyed by human beings. We are destroying ourselves. We can choose to learn from our traditional and spiritual elders to live in harmony and balance with all living things. Or we can choose to learn from the

white man who seeks to make a profit, no matter what the cost to our Mother Earth and to ourselves. We can choose to become part of the great positive force of life or the great negative force of destruction. That choice can only be made by the individual. That choice is yours.

"We must seek out the spiritual people because only that is going to help us survive. We have a great force — a great brotherhood. This brotherhood involves all living things. And that, of course, includes us all. We are talking about the natural world, the natural force, all the trees, everything that grows, the water. That is part of our force. But when you gather spiritual force in one place, you also gather the negative force. We begin to perceive the enemy now, the power and presence of the negative force. There is a great battle coming."

"Whether we are white or black, red or yellow — we are a family, a very large family. We are responsible to our grandfathers and grandmothers. We are responsible to the elders and to the world we live in. We are responsible for the welfare of the natural world. The natural world — the world we know and love — needs protection and understanding if it is to survive. If it does not survive, of course, neither will we."

Oren Lyons, Chief, Onondaga Nation 1979



New Mexico: The Classic Conflict (again.)

ALTERNATIVE ENERGY PROTESTED IN NEW MEXICO — GEOTHERMAL DEVELOPMENT

By Tom Barry

A vast caldera of an ancient volcano in the Jemez Mountains of New Mexico may be the testing ground for a new type of geothermal energy development. But the announcement of the proposed \$125 million project by Union Oil, Public Service Co. of New Mexico and the Department of Energy (DOE) hasn't been received kindly by the area's mostly Indian and Chicano residents living in and around the Jemez Mountains.

The geothermal project has become an explosive issue in northern New Mexico, an area where residents have a history of fighting for their land.

A coalition of Indian pueblos, Chicano communities, and environmental groups formed in May to stop the project, which the DOE is supporting as a pilot plant for more extensive development of the underground heat under the caldera.

When the residents first heard of possible geothermal development in the Jemez Mountains, no one knew much about the effects of this alternative form of electrical generation. What they heard was what the companies were saying: that geothermal energy was a clean alternative to fossil or nuclear fuel generation.

What wasn't known until recently was the severe environmental problems associated with geothermal projects. Few realized the extent of potential development on hundreds of thousands of private and Forest Service land already under lease by twenty or more energy companies.

The DOE is supplying the 50 megawatt project by PNM and Union Oil with more than \$50 million dollars to see if more massive geothermal development by other companies will be feasible.

The geothermal development of the relatively untouched Jemez Mountains and the Valle Caldera has set off the classic conflict of northern New Mexico — the loss and destruction of land to the benefit of wealthy and white outsiders. For a hundred years, it was the lawyers and ranchers taking the land grants and the pueblo lands. Now it's the mining and utility companies that are buying up and tearing up the land. The U.S. government all along has assisted this process through the courts, taxes, Forest Service land grabs, and easy mining laws.

The Santa Clara Pueblo was the first community to oppose the project, mostly for religious and environmental reasons.

Paul Tafoya, the pueblo's governor, said, "It's the survival of our people. We have to have something left for our grandchildren, and our great grandchildren."

The Jemez Mountains border the lands of the Jemez, Zia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, San Idelfonso, Cochiti and Santo Domingo pueblos. The mountains are the domain of the U.S. Forest Service, but the Indian pueblos say they have a special and historic spiritual relation with the pine-blanketed sierras.

Tafoya said that the Santa Clara Pueblo and other pueblos may go to court to stop the project on the grounds that it violates the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The act says the United States must protect and preserve Indians' "access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonies and traditional rites."

"The whole mountain range is sacred," said Tafoya. "That's why so many people talk about the Jemez Mountains as our church."

Peter Pino, Zia tribal spokesperson, told the DOE: "Our religious beliefs are dependent on the water which flows down from the mountains. It's the same water which inspired our forefathers to be farmers."

Union Oil has requested 2640 acre-feet of water from the State Engineer for the 50 megawatt project, which will tap a 60 cubic mile reservoir of hot water under the Jemez Mountains.

A DOE environmental impact statement on the project stated that "reduction of quantities of water available for irrigation may adversely affect farming practices and the productivity of Indian farmers." The BIA has filed a protest with the State Engineer on behalf of several pueblos.



THE SAVE THE JEMEZ COALITION SAYS THE PROJECT WILL NOT ONLY DESTROY THE MOUNTAINS BUT WILL DISRUPT THE RURAL COMMUNITIES. THEY CITE A STUDY BY THE STAFF OF THE SANTA FE FOREST... INDICATING THAT THE SMALL COMMUNITIES WON'T BE ABLE TO HANDLE THE BOOM OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS AND TRAFFIC CAUSED BY DEVELOPMENT

Jose Lucero of the Santa Clara Pueblo says, "Water is the key. The project will upset the balance by contaminating the supply, alter the flow and reduce surface abundance. Clean, pure water will be the last precious resource."

Concern about the effects of the geothermal project deepened among area residents following the publication of the DOE's environmental impact statement. Unlike many other impact statements, this one clearly outlined the possible environmental, social and cultural effects of the development.

Among the adverse impacts discussed were the following:

- the dispersion of layers of hydrogen sulfide gas, which smells like rotten eggs and corrodes metals
- accidental release of geothermal fluids into the surface and subsurface water
- violation of the Native American Religious Freedom Act
- Noise pollution
- social and economic disruption and distress
- the presence of numerous transmission line corridors through wilderness areas
- interference with current land use practices and recreational areas.

The Valle Caldera has been listed as a Natural National Landmark. "The contrast of the open rolling valleys, forested mountains, and often snowcapped peaks provide superior views," said the DOE. "Because of its industrial nature, the proposed demonstration power plant and transmission lines will change the present nature of the Valle Caldera that led to its designation as a national landmark."

The Department of Interior commented that the geothermal development is "a potential threat to the area's natural and cultural resources. Potential conflicts are mentioned in the categories of air quality, water quality, visual impacts, noise, quality of wildlife habitat,

and cultural resources. Expanded geothermal development in the caldera could prove by its industrial nature to be incompatible with future uses of the Valle Caldera as a public preservation or recreation area."

The electricity from the pilot plant is slated to go to Los Alamos — the home of the Manhattan Project and the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories. Curiously, the product of this alternative energy project will go to light the homes of the country's foremost nuclear scientists. Los Alamos was chosen as the base for the secretive Manhattan Project because of its isolation in the rugged Jemez Mountains.

Although geothermal energy is a new field, Union Oil and residents of northern California have already had considerable experience with this form of alternative energy.

Union Oil operates the Geysers Project north of San Francisco for Pacific Gas and Electric. Consumers and environmentalists living near this project charge that geothermal energy has not been cheap, safe or clean.

Residents complain of a thick layer of gray smog that stinks of hydrogen sulfide that covers the area. And the Geyser project is expanding to occupy an eventual 50 square miles of land, scarred by wells, a network of roads, thick pipelines, and transmission lines.

Peter Windram, attorney for the Lake County Energy Council, said, "Any one of them (geothermal development projects) looked at in isolation is no big deal. But the combined impact of all the projects radically changes the nature of the area. It is heavy industry where there was none before."

Residents of the Jemez have similar concerns. It may be possible for the companies to successfully operate the pilot project without much environmental degradation. But what will follow? At least twenty other companies have federal leases, including Chevron, Phillips, Texaco and Sunoco. They're waiting for the outcome of this project before they too dip into the underground heat.

The potential for development in the Valle Caldera has been estimated to be between 1000 and 3000 megawatts, which would mean twenty to sixty 50 megawatt plants.

Brant Calkin of the New Mexico Sierra Club forsee the widespread geothermal development of the Jemez area — with most of the produced electricity going to California.

Union and PNM will expand their generating capacity to 400 megawatts if the initial project succeeds. PNM had to get a waiver of hydrogen sulfide standards from the state's environmental board because of the emission of fifty pounds of hydrogen sulfide each hour.

The project has contracted Bechtel to build the installation, which will cover 1.5 square miles with 18 wells. The DOE is providing 45% of the funds, PNM 21% and Union Oil 34%. It was New Mexico's Senator Domenici who sponsored the bill that allowed this type of federal expenditure.

The Save the Jemez coalition says the project will not only destroy the mountains but will disrupt the rural communities. They cite a study by the staff of the Santa Fe Forest. That study said that the small communities won't be able to handle the boom of construction workers and traffic caused by the development.

"The impact on community service will be severe if full development of all leases were to take place," said the study.

"This is the beginning of new energy development and the destruction of the Indian tribe," said Paul Tafoya from Santa Clara.

Unlike many other energy projects, the companies cannot offer the promise of jobs as a lure to gain acceptance. While there will be a spurt of construction work, the project itself is capital intensive, requiring only 25 full-time workers.

The pueblos and the Save the Jemez group are determined to stop the project. But they're facing a powerful array of forces: the energy companies, utilities, the federal government, Los Alamos, State government, and public opinion which generally sees geothermal as a clean and very natural alternative way of easing the nation's energy crunch.

CLASSIC CONFLICT continued on page 10

:LETTERS:

To the Editor:

It wasn't until recently that the people of the Kaibab-Paiute Reservation and surrounding communities have had to face the severe danger that comes with the presence of a uranium mining operation. We are the Thunder River League, a group of people concerned about this source of radiation which threatens our quality of life. Today we realize that we too may fall victims to the same results of nuclear development as our Navajo neighbors and many others alike, all being direct results of man's arrogance in attempting to conquer Nature. I address this issue as one with several concerns, those of environmental concern, for Indian self-determination and a call for civil rights of humankind.

I would like to take this time to inform your readers of the circumstances surrounding the Hack Canyon mine, which sits in the Arizona Strip 15 miles from Fredonia, just south of the Kaibab Paiute Reservation and on Bureau of Land Management land. Briefly, here are some of the situations that alarm us:

1. The mine is located in Hack Canyon, part of Kanab Creek Canyon, just upstream from the Grand Canyon National Park. It threatens the Colorado River with radioactive contamination from runoff. The Park Service had no awareness of the mine until we brought it to their attention.

2. The BLM has failed to inform the public of this mining operation which is on "Public Lands" of the Federal Government in the Arizona Strip district.

3. Despite the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and BLM agency regulations issued as a result of it, the BLM has not prepared any sort of Environmental Study or Environmental Assessment on the mining operation.

4. Energy Fuels Nuclear, Inc. of Steamboat, Colorado operates the mine and is involved, and previous owner, is Western Nuclear Inc. of Denver, a subsidiary of Phelps Dodge.

5. It was revealed at a recent local presentation by Energy Fuels Inc. that the uranium ore is of such high grade to make it worthwhile to haul over 320 miles to Blanding, Utah, to their mill for processing. Twenty truckloads are expected to leave the mine daily in trucks said to be covered.

6. After processing into its "yellowcake" state, the uranium will be sold to fuel Swiss nuclear reactors, contrary to the notion that uranium is needed to meet our own domestic energy needs.

7. We live downwind from the Atomic test blasts in the Nevada desert of the 1950s, where local residents have filed suit against the United States Government to compensate them for losses caused by cancer related diseases from radiation exposure. We find it hypocritical that they should allow this uranium activity, which will expose us to further low-level radiation.

8. The mine was brought to the attention of the Paiute people because of a request by Energy Fuels for the rightway of the Mt. Trumbull Road needed to transport the ore to the state highway.

9. Kaibab-Paiute tribal members had no knowledge of the mine, no knowledge of the proposed agreement or right-of-way onto and across the reservation for trucking ore. Nor were they aware of the monetary compensation being received by the Tribal Council.

10. Because there has been no right of way yet granted from the Kaibab people, the use of the Mt. Trumbull Road by Energy Fuels and Western Nuclear thus far has put them in a position in which they are trespassers.

11. The Bureau of Indian Affairs - Hopi Agency has shown no concern for or sensitivity about the impacts of the mine on the Paiute people, a fact which could be in violation of their trust responsibility.

12. It has also been revealed that Energy Fuels is considering further uranium development in the area as well as on the Kaibab reservation. The Walapai people are being approached by similar interests.

13. We find that the tribe's sovereign status has been placed in jeopardy by the diversion of its attention by the corporate interests to material gain. The Tribal Government has failed to seek total tribal input as essential in proper planning and decision making.

We recognize that the uranium within our lands is what the energy corporations want from

us and it is the reason for their existence. They do not grow because of the needs of the people. We stunt their growth by taking the time to question and investigate their impact on us. They are willing to expose us to harmful radiation. They are willing to leave us without water. They do not respect our rights to plan for our future.

We, the people of the Thunder River League, will take the necessary measures to bring the uranium mining to a halt and will soon be entering the courts.

The action that would be most beneficial in terms of support would be to exert pressure by writing letters to: BLM - Arizona Strip District (Billy R. Templeton, District Manager, Federal Building, St. George, Utah) and the BIA - Department of the Interior (1951 Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20245), with a copy to Superintendent, Hopi Agency, Box 158, Keams Canyon, Arizona 86034, to call for a stop to all uranium activity in the Arizona Strip until the Environmental Impact Study addressing the potential dangers is completed. And, of course, any other support would be most appreciated.

In Struggle,
Louise Fishman, for
The Thunder River League
312 W. 20th St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10011

or: Bob Lippman
Box 738
Keams Canyon, Arizona 86034

NOTES:

The Brotherton Tribe of Wisconsin is trying to find all of its Tribal members in order to update the rolls. I would like to request your help in this matter. Could you publish the enclosed notice in your newspaper:

"The Brotherton Tribe of Wisconsin is listed in the Federal Registry and is on record as having filed an undocumented petition applying for federal tribal status.

The Brothertons are trying to update their tribal rolls and need the names and current addresses of all Brotherton Tribal members. The Ad Hoc Committee established for the purpose of contacting all tribal members is requesting all members to contact Mrs. Anna Welch Jacobs, R.R. No. 1, Bowler, Wisconsin 54416, (715) 793-4915."

Thanks much,
Phyllis Frederick
Rhineland, Wisconsin

NOTES:

Thank you for such a newspaper. I miss some of the features - the page of letters - the news from other tribes and places - and the poetry. But I always find hope and encouragement. Thanks.

Carol Dewing
Arlington, Mass.



NOTES:

I've enjoyed reading your paper and learned much from it for years. I thank you sincerely for your efforts. You are well respected as a serious paper which still manages to sound human and occasionally, even humorous.

Winona LaDuke's article is very good. Having lived in Gallup last summer, I've learned a little about this issue and she seems right on the mark.

Russell Means' "article" I didn't even bother to finish, not because I was hostile to the subject but because his introduction was so flatulent and dumb. It reminded me of one guy's reaction to my husband when he went out to visit the "Long Walk" group when they came near Gallup this summer. The guy screamed when he saw my husband's camera, "Get out, this is Dene land!" Having been brought out there by a Navajo friend, my husband just went off and forgot about taking pictures. I know, there was a lot of

tension. But what I'm leading up to is that I think it's time to move on from the immediate setting up of walls, to communicate. That's what your paper mostly does. If Russell Means doesn't really care if his words reach me or not, fine, my ears are closed to him. There are a lot of other people to listen to, thank God.

Yours sincerely,
Susan Hawley
Cambridge, Mass

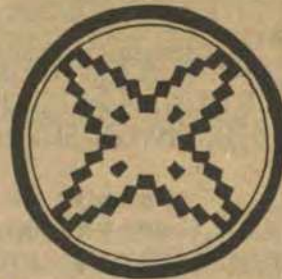
NOTES:

I was surprised and concerned to read an article in your May, 1980 edition reporting with apparent satisfaction the most disappointing Supreme Court decision affecting Indian people in recent years. UNITED STATES V. MITCHELL seriously diminishes the value of federal trust obligations for protecting and managing allotted lands. This is a damaging precedent that could jeopardize rights of many Indians who have relied on the United States to protect their property.

Contrary to the suggestions in the article, the decision does not limit the federal government's control over Indian affairs or property. That control has been solidly anchored in Supreme Court decisions since the draconian power to abrogate treaties was upheld over seventy years ago. MITCHELL results in Indians having no greater management or control of allotted land; it just means that the United States is relieved of its responsibility for managing allotments. MITCHELL actually affirms Congress's ability to limit government accountability by passing a statute like the Allotment Act.

For too long the trustee relationship described in old court decisions was little more than a foundation for unbridled federal power over native peoples. Indian advocacy in the last ten years has resulted in recognition by the courts of federal duties and responsibilities consistent with the awesome powers. This has been a major and positive advance in Indian law. Many opponents of Indian rights will now argue that the MITCHELL decision relieves the government of its burden of protecting Indian property and treaty rights. But the decision is limited to Court of Claims decisions to recover for government mismanagement of allotments. To suggest it goes farther, as your article did - especially with a tone of satisfaction - only feeds the fires of the anti-Indian camps.

David H. Getches
Associate Professor of Law
Boulder, Colorado



NOTES:

Each issue makes me feel sad, frustrated and angry as I read of the continued age-old injustices suffered by the American Indian. I wonder sometimes if it ever occurs to you to estimate how many blacks in this nation carry huge amounts of American Indian blood in their veins and proudly so. In this white dominated culture, understandably, they suffer doubly.

History books and schools in general fail to mention the many slaves who ran away and joined the Indians, then returned to raid the whites. They don't speak of slaves who overthrew and killed their masters. Half-breed always seems to be taken for granted to mean half white and half Indian. Nobody seems aware that many were half Black and half Indian.

K.M. Young, M.D.
Bronx, N.Y.

NOTES:

I found Russell Means' speech, "Marxism As a European Tradition," fascinating. It's the first coherent and consistent description I've seen of the Indians' conception of the present and the future. It may well come true that the whites will destroy themselves; we've been on the brink of that insanity through the balance of terror for about thirty years now, and it is easy to imagine other disasters that my strike if the bombs fail to do the job. And as a Marxist myself I have some idea of what he's talking about. I've read all of the people he mentions except Hegel. But the amazing thing to me is - how could he have read so much! Especially for a person who seems to despise books and shun all abstract reasoning!

I want no quarrel with him, or with any of your people, and I don't object to anything he says. But in the interests of truth and accuracy, which I believe are always preferable to illusion and error, I'd like to remark that I consider some of his statements too sweeping, that he could stand a lot of criticism, and that it is always best and wisest to concede that nobody can know all the truth or have a monopoly of the truth.

I read *Sacajawea*, which I suppose is a fair approximation of the way Indians lived before the whites had much affect here. Some of it is good, some of it bad - naturally like all life, with plenty of room for improvement. I doubt if any woman today would want to live the way Sacajawea lived, or if many men would want to live the way the average Indian lived than. No doubt some tribes had better circumstances than others. The question is, how much is possible without developing the bad effects that came with so much of the whites' progress. Or - how to manage progress without developing these effects. Today, we depend on dentists and doctors and electricity, and I doubt if you Indians would want to do without them. Though I realize that life in ideal conditions would have little need for dentists, doctors and electricity. But ideal conditions are impossible now; we have to do the best we can with what we have.

I can't agree with the Indians' worship or dependence on spirituality. I don't think it's logical. There's no way to prove its existence, and while you can't exactly disprove it, you can describe and explain most manifestations of life by denying it, or without spirituality. I think the closest approximation to the truth in this respect is the study of evolution. I think this is much more logical, and if so, the probability is that it's closer to the truth. And I think, dependence on any illusion is more apt to do harm than good, especially in the long view.

I think that Russell Means' denunciation of European culture is far too sweeping. There is much good in that culture. Music is beautiful. It has brought a great deal of happiness to a great many people. And to deny this, to deny the beauty of Mozart, Beethoven and Verdi, is to display ignorance. Believe me, this kind of music is nothing to be scorned! It does for us whites who love it what spirituality does for you, I suppose. I also believe that science has done some good as well as much evil, and I feel quite certain that books, libraries, are great treasures.

But he is right to say that a dependence on Marxism will not solve the troubles of the Indians. I have understood this since reading your paper the past few years and observing the latest developments throughout the world. Something more than Marxism is needed now. But Marxism can help if it helps get rid of capitalism and if it would really fulfill its promise of truly democratic conditions.

In any case, I don't think it's the essence of wisdom to just wait around for the whites to destroy themselves. Some of them are highly intelligent. They might conceivably keep things going a long while yet. And they might, conceivably, improve, though it sure as hell doesn't look like it right now.

Thank you for publishing a very good, thought-provoking article.

Faternally,
Al Amery
E. Pepperell, Mass.

NOTES:

We hope that you get 100,000 responses to your subscription appeal! NOTES is truly unique in the depth of its research and the personla flavor.

We are real glad to see coverage of seed patenting in NOTES. Even the slick glossies are taking note of this issue. However, your correspondent Eve Smith has taken some incorrect information and amplified. Specifically, the current legislation does not prohibit the sale of non-patented varieties, nor does it mean that only chemically-treated seed will be sold. Those are only assumptions that can be drawn from the trend of world events that points toward the consolidation of control over both food and the means to produce it. We oppose this legislation for reasons such as one cited in the article - "genetic islands" - but I am writing this to you to be in Truth; people will draw what conclusions they will, and I am sure that you want information in NOTES to be accurate. The main reason for this legislation is the usual one - profits - for plant breeders, and where applicable, the corporations that support them. And that will be reason enough for most of us to oppose these bills.

Like [many other articles in NOTES, this one will hopefully do more than alarm its readers. It may spur more of us to produce our own seeds (with the help of the Master Gardener), as one feels that ultimately, the corporate table will be bare. We must look after our own — seeds, children and selves, through which all the provender flows.

Forest Shomer
Abundant Life Seed Foundation
P.O. Box 772
Port Townsend, Washington 98368



OTES:

I read Russell Means' article entitled "Marxism as a European Tradition" with great interest. However I found his analysis of the causes of the plight of Native Americans and other people of the Western Hemisphere to be of doubtful assistance in providing a remedy for their situation.

He describes the A.I.M. movement as a spiritual one rather than a political one. Means' own experience should have shown him, as the experience of all resistance movements has demonstrated, that spiritual movements are ineffective without organized political action. With about one million Native Americans now living, how can one expect to gain any solution of A.I.M. demands without political alliances with other groups who have similar demands against discrimination and exploitation?

Means, being opposed to writing, is apologetic about his spoken words now appearing in written form in AKWESASNE NOTES. I wonder how he explains his familiarity with Newton, Locke and Marx unless he got the gist of their philosophies from them personally in oral form. His contempt for books as a means of transmitting knowledge borders on the irrational, which, I think, can also describe his hostility to industrialism.

Europeans have not only exploited native people in Asia, Africa and the Americas, but have also developed a science and technology that makes it possible to give an abundant life, both spiritual and material, to all mankind, providing the systems of exploitation are abolished. If Means wants to move the clock back a few centuries, we would face total starvation if we returned to the primitive economy of the so-called "Noble Savage."

His hostility to the Europeans who exploited and conquered defenseless natives in all continents is completely justified, but it is illogical to also condemn those Europeans and European movements that opposed this policy, among which Marxism was foremost. Means is therefore attacking instead of befriending a movement which has the same aims as he professes.

He states that capitalism is not the cause of Native American problems, but that the European tradition is. Then how does he view the large corporations who are destroying Indian land in strip mining and other acquisition of resources? To call these despoilers "European" and not "capitalist" is to be blind to who the real enemy of Native Americans and most other Americans is. Does Russell Means deny that there are classes in America?

I know that Means has been victimized personally by the police and the courts. Does he put the lawyers who defended him in the same category? I don't think his bitterness towards the powerful in our society should result in hostility towards education from Native Americans, towards books or the progress mankind has made since early times. Does his rejection of the printed word apply to AKWESASNE NOTES?

A. Dranow
Banning, California

NOTES:

I send greetings and best wishes to you from our entire household. We are a mixture of ages and of occupations, some working people and some students. I have been reading NOTES for

years, and other members of this recently assembled household have begun reading NOTES also. We wish to continue receiving NOTES.

I think the publication has gotten much better in the last few years. Several years ago there was a strong anti-white sentiment running through the paper. While understandable, that attitude did more harm, I think, than good to the Native American struggle for rights and independence. Alienating whites does little to gain support for Native Americans among whites. The struggle, I think, is not between Native Americans and whites — neither whites nor Indians have a universal claim for pure badness or goodness — but rather between two mutually exclusive cultures and ways of viewing the Earth, people and life. Lately NOTES has moved away from an Us versus Them analysis and become more politically analytical. I think this is good, both because it makes for more interesting reading and because it will lead to more success in the very difficult struggles ahead. Also, I know of no other "leftist" groups who combine hard politics, a spiritual view of the world, and the practicalities of life. Please keep up the good work.

With Best Wishes,
James A. Liebman
Ann Arbor, Michigan

fictitious diety and a "heaven" where believers will be "rewarded," provided they do not rock the capitalist boat in the here-n-now. Black people are coming to realize that on those pearly gates is a sign that says: "Colored go to side door."

History proves that theocratic power exercises a most baleful influence upon society. There has never been anything else that has been as devious, destructive and oppressive, and the reason for this is to be found in its very nature, for while there is no element in life or culture more attractive to the generality of mankind than religion in some form, it is also true that it resides in the emotions rather than in the rational faculty of man, hence is not susceptible to scientific demonstration. Hence the unbridgeable gulf between science and religion.

History is on the side of the world's oppressed millions and will not be denied. A new and better world for them is gestating in the womb of the old, fathered by Necessity. There are thousands of the oppressed to every oppressor, and for every rebel head that falls in struggle, no less than two more grow in its place — inevitably! As the bomber pilots in Vietnam said to each other: "Bomb a hut — make five Communists!"

In the course of many struggles, great sacrifices, some victories and some setbacks, a



KAYUTAH CLOUDS WAS A YOUNG MAN OF MOHICAN ANCESTRY WHO WAS DEDICATED TO HELPING THE NATIVE PEOPLES ACHIEVE ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY. A CONTRIBUTOR TO AKWESASNE NOTES SEVERAL TIMES, KAI WAS WORKING ON AN AGRICULTURAL PROJECT IN GUATEMALA MOST RECENTLY. ON OCTOBER 30TH WE RECEIVED WORD HE HAD BEEN FOUND DEAD ALONGSIDE A ROAD THERE. THE CAUSE OF DEATH IS UNKNOWN BUT FRIENDS BELIEVE HE MAY HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF GOVERNMENT TERRORISM. KAI WAS A RESOURCEFUL, WELL-INFORMED AND CONSCIENCIOUS HUMAN BEING. WE KNEW HIM ONLY A FEW BRIEF SEASONS BUT FEEL FOR THE LOSS OF HIS HUMAN POTENTIAL, SOMETHING OF WHICH HIS ASSASSINS ARE OBVIOUSLY DEVOID.

TO HIS FAMILY WE EXTEND OUR SINCERE CONDOLENCES DURING THIS TIME OF HARDSHIP.

NOTES:

The Means article in your Summer edition discloses the basic reasons why the Native Americans have been unable to extricate themselves from the deadly grip of the imperial capitalists. Its most glaring features are its total classlessness and extreme sectarianism, making no distinction between the tiny but powerful white-racist ruling class and the vast majority white working class without whose cooperation your peoples can win little or nothing. Unless they learn to combine with ALL other oppressed peoples, regardless of their race or nationality, we see no hope for their emancipation.

Means' labelling of the enemy as "Europeans" and his rejection of Marxism aligns him with the

imperialist CLASS enemy. Marxism is a living flame, the highest form of social science now sweeping the world. The strength and vitality of Marx-Leninism are derived from the fact that it relies upon an advanced revolutionary theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, that it elevates theory to its proper scientific level, and that it deems it its duty to utilize every ounce of the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of that theory whose proof is in its practice in a third of the world.

The traditional chiefs like Means have done a bang-up job subverting the minds of your people. The purpose of religion is to replace rebellion with superstitious beliefs in some

huge People's Army will form, organized and led by Marxists, that CANNOT BE DEFEATED no matter how well-armed, brainwashed and skilled in killing the imperialism mercenary forces may be — and the valiant Russians and Vietnamese proved it!

The famous African freedom fighter Kwame Nkrumah wrote this inspiring passage in his HANDEBOOK OF REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE: "The use of violence to maintain imperialist rule INVARIABLY sparks off a much stronger explosion of revolutionary activity among the oppressed peoples, and experience shows that such movements can neither be contained nor destroyed!" In short, the enemy's very strength is his fatal weakness! By his very nature, he cannot help creating the grave-diggers who will bury him, just as the immortal Communist Manifesto said he would.

However, the great Lenin wrote this is his "Letters on Tactics": "We've always known and repeatedly pointed out that the bourgeoisie maintains its rule NOT ONLY by force and violence, but also by virtue of the lack of class-consciousness and organization, the routinism and downtrodden state of the masses." Who are weak precisely because they are disunited.

While a philosophical understanding of class-consciousness can be obtained from the books that MEans denigrates, its full meaning can be grasped ONLY from the lessons taught by experience in the class struggle. There are only two general ways of learning history's

lessons: the voluntary comparatively easy way from one's own struggle experiences and those of others who've written books about them, or the involuntary and often fatal hard way by having those lessons imposed by the force of events. The choice is yours. We aged strugglebums can do no more for those with closed cross-threaded intellects who believe in the old poisonous addage that where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise, and so are determined to remain ignorant.

Unless the basic principles of Marx-Leninist revolutionary theory is fought for, won and practiced in the movement, as against petty-bourgeois individualism, Maoist, Trotskyite and other diversionary poisons, and against anarcho-nihilist destructive views, there can be no mass organizing, no united front against reaction, fascism and imperialist war, and hence no Liberation Movement.

"Thou must win or lose, suffer or triumph, either anvil or hammer be." (Goethe)

V.V. Roe
Editor, SANITY NOW!
La Puente, California

NOTES:

I wonder if you could print this notice:

Several Indian families in Pine Ridge, South Dakota are in need of a physical therapist to help handicapped children. There are several salaried positions available locally, but no one who can fill them.

For more information write to me.

Tom Cook
Box 265
Pine Ridge, S.D. 57770

NOTES:

While reading your latest issue, I came across the article by Russell Means on Marxism and I had some thoughts to share. First, I'll bet that article will bring in a flood of mail from unhappy Marxists. And second, I'll bet not one of them will address the issue that Means raises about how socialism is any different from capitalism to people who are victims of mining development.

I studied with Marxists for years and I've been listening to some Indian people for years also. Some of the Indian spokesmen are horrible representatives of your cause, but some Marxists are even worse. I saw an article on Means' speech at the Black Hills Survival meeting which appeared in a Left journal recently. The guy who wrote it made more racist slurs against Indians than appears in the literature of the Klu Klux Klan.

If my guess is correct, some Marxists went to the BHA gathering, got into a disagreement with some of the Indians, and went back and wrote the article to get even. More important than what he had to say was the fact that he had gone to a place in order to try to get people to listen to his ideas and when they didn't listen to him (which was his own failing to communicate) he then condemned them as being too stupid to understand.

If you're not a good enough politician to be able to communicate your ideas, you don't make things any better by condemning the other people for not listening to you. That's infantile. And if you can't hear what the other people are saying and speak to the real issues that they raise, you're simply a poor political theorist and no teacher of thought at all.

Alas, too many Marxists are of that bent. Means' article has some strong points and a lot of weak points. It's pretty easy to pick out the weak points and condemn the man. But a major point that he makes, the point that some peoples are being destroyed by technologies which destroy the land and that socialism doesn't speak to the concerns of these people, that point is a good one. We have been taught to believe in Technology as though it were simply a universal good. We hardly ever stop to ask ourselves how we perceive technologies which are destructive, and some of us are too blind to admit that some technologies, especially uranium and molybdenum mining technologies, are simply dangerous and threaten to destroy whole areas of land and cultures of peoples.

I'd go on, but I think I've made my point. Anyway, keep up the good work. Some of us are listening to the work you are doing.

(Name withheld upon request)
Buffalo, New York.





BOOKS

1981 CALENDAR AVAILABLE



Next year's calendar features the epic version of the founding of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. Included in its entirety is the story of the **White Roots of Peace** the book by Dr. Paul A Wallace.

Also included (in the date boxes) are all one hundred and seventeen sections of **KAIANEREKOWA, The Great Law**, which is the constitutional basis upon which the Iroquois League of Nations was founded.

Calendar artwork, by **KAHIONHES** (John Fadden), depicts twelve dramatic scenes in the chronology of events leading up to the actual founding of the Confederacy and the beginning of the Great Peace. The cover is a **FULL COLOUR** reproduction of a beautiful painting (take our word for it!) of our planet, titled **IAKONKWE** (woman), also by **KAHIONHES**. Calendar production and promotion by **PICTOGRAPHICS**. Calendar Design by **ROKWAHO**.

The **White Roots of Peace** will soon be available in book form from the **CENTER FOR ADIRONDACK STUDIES**, North Country Community College, 20 Winona Avenue, Saranac Lake, N.Y. 12983. Illustrated by **KAHIONHES**.

The **AKWESASNE NOTES** calendars have always had tremendous acclaim, and each year we have had to reprint several times to keep up with the demand. The calendar pages have historical notes for most of the days of the events in American history not always reported in the textbooks. Each month has a large handsome illustration and quotation — the drawings depicted here are an example of some of the artwork from the 1981 calendar.

Our calendars hang in classrooms, offices and homes throughout North America, and when the year is over, the artwork is often cut off to make attractive permanent posters. These calendars are good items for fund-raising, especially for Native causes.

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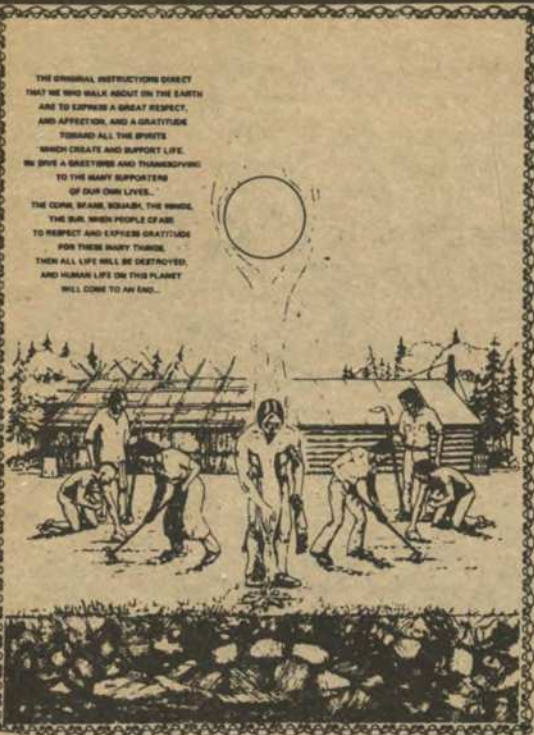


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The San Francisco Peaks

AN ISSUE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

by John Redhouse

"We will fight for the Peaks until the end of time."
Miller Nex Navajo Medicineman

The controversial San Francisco Peaks case may be the first major test of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. This paper will briefly examine its history and background.

San Francisco Peaks

The San Francisco Peaks are located in the Coconino National Forest in northern Arizona. It is a sacred mountain of the Navajo, Hopi, Zuni and Apache peoples.

According to Navajo religion, "The sacred mountain of the west, Dokoosliid, was fastened to the earth with a sunbeam. The Holy People took great care to decorate this sacred mountain. They adorned it with haliotis shell, black clouds, he rain, yellow corn, and a variety of wild animals. They placed a dish of haliotis shell at the summit of this mountain and laid in the dish two eggs of the yellow warbler. They covered the eggs with a sacred buckskin. Over all this, they spread a yellow cloud. 'White Corn Boy' and 'Yellow Corn Girl' were sent to dwell in this sacred mountain."

The San Francisco Peaks, an ancient volcano, is also the highest mountain in Arizona.

Arizona Snow Bowl

The Arizona Snow Bowl is a 777 acre ski area on the western slope of the San Francisco Peaks. It consists of chair and poma lifts, ski runs, day lodge, parking lot, and an access road. According to Northland Recreation, the Snow Bowl "is doing more skier days by almost three times than any other ski area in the United States."

In 1939, the Flagstaff Ski Club secured a permit from the Coconino National Forest Service to construct and operate the Snow Bowl. Two years later, Arnal Corporation purchased the ski facility. In 1970, Summit Properties then purchased the Snow Bowl from Arnal Corporation.

In 1971, Summit Properties proposed to develop a large recreational complex at Hart Prairie to support planned expansion of the Snow Bowl. For the next three years, the Navajo and Hopi people strongly opposed Summit's proposal. As a result, the Coconino County Board of Supervisors rejected the proposal and declared a building moratorium in the Hart Prairie area.

In 1976, Northland Recreation purchased the Snow Bowl. A year later, Northland submitted its master development plan to the Forest Service. The Forest Service then prepared a draft environmental impact statement on the plan and its alternatives.

In 1979, the local supervisor of the Forest Service in Flagstaff released the final environmental impact statement and approved Northland's proposal. In his decision, he stated that "The Forest Service recognizes that to some, development will be considered adverse to Native American religious beliefs because commercial use and construction are not consistent with protecting the home of their supernatural beings; however, the Forest Service finds public use of the Snow Bowl area and the goods and services the public derives from the San Francisco Peaks are a substantial and compelling reason for continuance and improvement of the development."

The forester's decision was then appealed by the Navajo Medicinemen's Association, Hopi traditionalists, and the Southwestern Indian Treaty Council. The Navajo Tribe, Hopi Tribe, Zuni Pueblo, and the White Mountain Apache Tribe also appealed.

The Indian people specifically charged that the Forest Service:

— Violated their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion.

— Violated the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

— Violated its trust responsibility.

— Violated the National Environmental Policy Act.

— Violated the Endangered Species Act.

— Violated the Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act.

— Violated their Fifth Amendment rights to due process of law.

— Exceeded its statutory authority.

On February 7, 1980, the regional supervisor of the Forest Service in Albuquerque, New Mexico, modified the local forester's decision. In his opinion, he decided "to provide only for repair and replacement of existing facilities as required by obsolescence, public safety, and deterioration." He also approved a proposal to pave the access road to the Snow Bowl.

The regional forester's decision has been appealed by Indians and non-Indians. The Indian people continue to oppose all development of the San Francisco Peaks.

Many non-Indian interests, however, still support further development of the Snow Bowl. These interests include: Northland Recreation, Flagstaff Ski Club, Flagstaff City Council, Coconino County Chamber of Commerce, Arizona Governor, and the Arizona congressional delegation.

The national chief of the Forest Service in Washington, D.C. has not yet announced his decision on the appeal. His decision will be appealed to the Secretary of Agriculture. The Agriculture Secretary's decision, in turn, will be challenged in U.S. District Court.

Other environmentally destructive activities in the San Francisco Peaks area are: timber sales, sand and gravel stripmining, and proposed geothermal development.

In 1978, Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act to reaffirm the First Amendment right of Indian people to practice their traditional religions. According to the Act, "It shall be the policy of the federal government to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religious... including, but not limited to, access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonial and traditional rites."

The Act also directed the federal government to evaluate its policies in consultation with Indian people to determine necessary administrative and legislative changes to protect their religion. A report of the one-year evaluation has been submitted to Congress.

The report recommended that "Physical access to the land and its natural products must also include the preservation of the natural conditions which are the sine quo non of the access. The efficacy of the natural products and the spiritual well-being of the sacred sites are dependent upon physical conditions. Changing of physical conditions... not only damages the spiritual nature of the land, but may also endanger the well-being of the native religious practitioners in their role and the religious obligations as guardians and preservers of the natural character of specific land areas."

Therefore, Indian people believe that the Forest Service violated the intent of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in its Snow Bowl decisions. The protection and preservation of the San Francisco Peaks is necessary for the spiritual survival of Indian tribes in the Southwest.

